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THE

LIFE, LETTERS, AND SERMONS

OF

BISHOP HERBERT DE LOSINGA

(*b. circ.* A.D. 1050, *d.* 1119):

B1093

The LETTERS (as translated by the Editors) being incorporated with the LIFE, and the SERMONS being now first edited from a MS. in the possession of the University of Cambridge, and accompanied with an English Translation and Notes.

BY

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VOL. II.

THE SERMONS.

Oxford and London:
JAMES PARKER AND CO.
1878.

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PREFACE TO THE SERMONS.

§ 1. THE following Sermons have been transcribed from a MS. formerly belonging to the Cathedral Church of Norwich, and now in the Library of the University of Cambridge. The MS. is one of two volumes containing Sermons by various Fathers of the Church, Ambrose, Gregory, Bede, &c., and at the end of one of the volumes are the fourteen Sermons by Herbert. On the fly-leaf, and again on fol. i., is the mark "A. vii.," indicating probably the place of the volume in the Library of the Church of Norwich. For that the volume originally belonged to the Church of Norwich is clear from these words, also found on the fly-leaf, in a hand of the first half of the 16th century; "In fine hujus voluminis est sermo Herberti episcopi *fundatoris hujus ecclesiæ*." A later hand adds, "et vid. p. 431, 435, 440, 470," these being references to the four Sermons which have Herbert's name prefixed to them[a].

Description of the MS. of the Sermons.

[a] Bale [1495—1563] is, as far as we have been able to discover, the first author who gives a list of Herbert's works. According to him they are as follows;—

Sermones, octodecim. lib. i. Convenistis dilectissimi fratres.
De prolixitate temporum, lib. i.
De fine mundi, lib. i.
Constitutiones monachorum, lib. i.
Epistolæ ad diversos, lib. i.
Ad Anselmum contra sacerdotes, lib. i.
Et alia quædam.

What satisfies us that the MS. sermons, which we have transcribed and translated, are the actual sermons of Herbert, is first, the entry on the fly-leaf quoted above; and secondly, the fact that these sermons begin

The volume is a large folio, written in two columns on vellum, in a hand not later than the middle of the twelfth century, as will be seen from the photograph forming the frontispiece. The ink is generally of good dark tint, and in no part much faded. The only use of colour is occasionally in the titles of the sermons, and always in the initial letters of each sermon, and sometimes in the initial letter of a new paragraph.

The words "ad colacionem," occasionally found in the margin, require some explanation for readers not versed in this sort of lore. The "collatio" in monastic houses was originally an instructive conference on some Scriptural or sacred subject, in which the juniors asked questions, or proposed difficulties, and the seniors replied. It was so called, because both parties contributed (*contulerunt*) to the discussion. Afterwards, it came to signify a simple reading aloud of good books by an appointed reader, while the brethren listened in silence. "The brethren," says the Benedictine Rule (cap. xlii.), "after having taken their supper, shall assemble together, and one of them shall read the *Collations*, or Lives of the

with the words which Bale has given as their beginning ("Convenistis, dilectissimi fratres"). A slight difficulty occurs with reference to the word "octodecim," given by Bale. There are but fourteen sermons in the MS., unless indeed we count in the three anecdotes, (which begin like the sermons with capital and rubricated letters, and might well be considered as separate discourses, because there is no very discernible thread of connexion between them and the sermons which they respectively succeed). This, however, only makes the number seventeen. Possibly the anecdote about St. Paul's martyrdom contained in the sermon "In Festivitate Sancti Pauli," may have been reckoned by Bale as a separate discourse; or possibly he may have counted them hastily.

Fathers (*legat unus Collationes, vel Vitas Patrum*), or any other book calculated to edify." Among these readings in the Norwich Benedictine Monastery, attached to the Cathedral, were very naturally selections from the Sermons of the Founder; and these selections are indicated by the words "ad colacionem" in the margin. It appears, moreover, that from the custom prevalent in most monasteries of reading aloud at meals (see the Benedictine Rule, cap. xxxviii.), the word "collation" came to signify the meal itself; and hence, perhaps, "ad colacionem" may indicate a suitable lection for meal-time. "Profound silence," says the Rule, "shall be observed during meals, so that no voice save that of the reader may be heard."

Principles on which the Transcribers have proceeded in respect of the division of words,

§ 2. It is well known to students of ancient MSS. that distinct words are often written together without any break, while, on the other hand, different parts of the same words are sometimes separated by a space. Thus in the MS. which is here for the first time printed, we find "Mira res," written "Mirares," and "ebdomadas," [hebdomadas] written "eb domadas." But in our preparation of the MS. for the press we have disregarded these arrangements of the words, as perplexing to the reader, and have printed distinct words as always separate, and the parts of the same word always together.

punctuation,

The punctuation of the MS. we have retained with as much fidelity as possible. The laws which govern it seem to have a certain regularity, though we do not profess to understand or explain them. Neither the comma, nor the

colon, nor the mark of admiration are found. The stops are, [i.] a point succeeded by a small letter, which we suppose to be equivalent to the comma; [ii.] a point succeeded by a capital, which we take to represent a full stop; [iii.] the semi-colon, which is uniformly succeeded by a capital; and [iv.] the inverted semi-colon, having the comma above the dot, which is uniformly succeeded by a small letter. (The force of these two last signs we do not exactly understand; possibly one of them may be equivalent to the colon.) [v.] The mark of interrogation, which is the same in form with the modern sign, and is always succeeded by a capital.

and orthography.

Where the scribe acknowledges an error in spelling by the interlineation of a letter, or where there is reason to think that he has inadvertently made one, we have reproduced what he has written, placing after it the word *sic.* The spelling we have endeavoured to retain as it is given in the MS.;—thus, *hortus*, 'a garden,' will be found printed *ortus.* But where a syllable is contracted, we have printed it in the usual form. Thus *sæculum*, when written in full, usually appears as *seculum;* but where its first syllable is contracted (*sclã*) we print it *sæcula.*

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NOTE.—SERMON I.

The sources of the story of the Hebrew boy, preserved by the Virgin in a furnace, having been accidentally omitted in the notes, are given in the Appendix, to which the reader is requested to turn.

THE SERMONS

OF

HERBERT LOSINGA.

Title in red ink.

In the margin of the title, in a different hand, and in black ink, are the words "ad colacionem."

SERMO

VENERABILIS HERBERTI EPISCOPI

IN DIE NATALI DOMINI.

Fol. 217. *Convenistis dilectissimi fratres ad ecclesiam sanctam. convenistis ad matrem vestram. con venistis ad *gaudia dominicæ nativitatis. Singulare spectaculum. si fides assit. et si veritatis* fulgore vestrarum *mentium archana illuminentur.* Erigitur *vobis mensa salutis. præparatur* medicina redemptionis. Mors subvertitur. et die hodierna rerum innovatio inchoatur. Ad potentissimi regis residetis mensam. diligenter attendite que apponuntur vobis. scientes quoniam consimilia oportet vos præparare. Apponitur vobis virginis conceptus. virginis partus. et virginalis uteri integra soliditate nascitur homo de femina. et juxta propheticum vaticinium. ignara viri parit virum. et virgo gaudet prole. quæ viri nullos noverat complexus. Accedit ad uterum virginis spiritus sanctus. purgat originali et actuali culpa.

* The initial letter of each Sermon is rubricated in the MS.

[a] "to prepare the like things." The meaning seems to be that they should bring the right frame of mind to the hearing of those divine truths, which he was about to propound to them, and which are spoken of under the image of a supper or feast. The guests at the marriage-supper in the Gospel were required to appear in a wedding-garment; and the wedding-garment was *of a piece with the occasion*, and in this sense "like" the things which were set before them. See this thought—that the wedding-garment is a frame of mind in harmony with the heavenly festival—beautifully brought out in Mr. Archer Butler's Sermon on the Parable. Vol. i. Serm. xiii.

[b] "according to the oracle of the Prophet." There is some difficulty in identifying Herbert's reference to the Prophets. Perhaps the word *juxta*

Sermo Augustini episcopi de natalis domini. ad catechumenos.

Congaudete mihi dilectissimi quia ad ecclam scam conuenistis ad matrem uram. et uenistis ad gaudia dñice nativitatis. Singulare spectaculum si fides assit. et si uoluntatis fulgore uirtutis mentis arcana illuminetur. Frigit uobis misa salutis. preparatur medicina redemptionis. Mors subuertitur. et die hodierna rerum innouatio inchoatur. Ad potentissimi regis residetis mensa. diligenter adtendite que apponuntur uobis. scientes quia conuiuia oportet uos preparare. Apponit uobis uirginis conceptus. virginis partus. et virginalis uterus integra soliditate nascitur homo de femina. et uncta pphetia uaticinium. ignara uiri parturiens. et virgo gaudet prole. que uiri nullos nouerat complexus. Accedit adutero virginis species. purgat originalis et actualis culpa. qua sua implebatur erat gratia. Clamat angelus. Hec mea inquit maria. Ecce concipies in partu. filium. et uocabis nomen eius. Ihs. Ihs saluator. qui de corpore et animarum uarietate peccatum saluat. uerum. siue generis reparationem. reformans. Na corpus a corruptione et mortalitate. anima uero ab omni passibilitate. Merito saluator dicit. qui humane infirmitati sufficienter sumministrat salutem. Unde euangelista. Et uerbum inquit caro factum est. et habitauit in nobis. Sed quod uidetur. Uerbum transitorium. Absit. Sed uerbum manens. quod caro abominatio. quod auditum est in cinere. et manere cruciatuum. de uobis tacet. Quomodo hoc uidetur uerbum. Ut ide dñs. et uidebit ubique dñs. Sic enim uentus procellas. Philippe qui uidet me uidet et patrem. et omnia que habet pater habet filius. et sine filio michil operatur. Pr principium. quia principio erat uerbum. et de principio principium. Unde euangelista. In principio erat uerbum. et uerbum erat apud dm. et ds erat uerbum. hoc erat in principio apud dm. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. et sine ipso factum est michil. Habet ergo erat. qui non erat quando filius non erat. Humiliatur ut ad infirmitatem. et dei sapientia nram inclinat ad infirmitatem. Sic enim habet in plo. Qui cum in forma dei esset non rapinam fecit arbitratus est esse se equalem do. sed semet ipsum exinanuit formam serui accipiens. in similitudinem hominum facte. et habitu inuentus ut homo. Nunc sion dicet homo. et homo natus est in ea. et ipse fundauit eam altissimus. Di nativitas nos exercet continue. mus reuocat una creatio. sic semper. Generationem et quis enarrabit. Verum ut pdixim diligenter attendam. que apponuntur nobis. Attendam fieri de nullo premium. de pre filium nasci. de pre et filio procedere spm scm. Ad erat pr. ad erat filius. ad erat spes ses muto urginis. partu. forma bene de uirginis homine. que solus forte fuit filius fuit unicum ponere. Mens di incepit humana et primum animam. et patiam carnis. et dignatione ineffabili fuit maiestatis preceptum uniuersum hoiem. Uagit ecce infans. filius uirginis

A SERMON

OF

THE VENERABLE BISHOP HERBERT,

ON THE BIRTHDAY OF THE LORD.

YE have come together, dearly beloved brethren, to the Holy Church. Ye have come together to your Mother. Ye have come together to the joyful solemnity of the Lord's Birthday. A rare spectacle, if faith be with you, and if the inner chambers of your minds be enlightened by the bright shining of the truth. The table of salvation is spread for you; the balm of redemption is prepared for you; death is overthrown; and to-day a new order of things is begun. Ye are sitting down at the board of the Almighty King: give diligent heed to the things which are set before you, knowing that it behoves you [for your part] to prepare the like things[a]. There is set before you the conception of a Virgin, the delivery of a Virgin; and while the purity of the Virgin is preserved, a Man is born of a woman, and, according to[b] the oracle of the Prophet; "She who knew not a man brings forth a man, and "a maiden, who was never embraced by husband, re- "joices in her offspring." The Holy Ghost cometh upon the Virgin, and purgeth from sin, original and actual[c],

See St. Luke i. 34.

indicates only a loose and general connexion, and he is thinking of Isaiah vii. 14, "Behold a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, &c.," the sense of which, however, he gives not in the inspired words of Scripture, but in some patristic paraphrase, which had obtained currency. Thus in St. Augustine we read: "Concipit Virgo virilis ignara consortii: impletur uterus nullo humano pollutus amplexu."—(Serm. cxxi. *In Natali Domini.* S. Augustini Opp., tom. v. p. 222, D.) Again: "Inviolata peperit, quia in conceptu libido non fuit." (Serm. cxciv. *De Annuntiatione Dominicâ II.*, tom. v. p. 322, C.) Probably in some of the Fathers may be found a nearer approach to the exact words.

[c] "Purgeth from sin, original and actual, her," &c. It will be observed that the doctrine here set forth, though at variance with Holy Scripture, is totally different from the new Papal dogma of the Immaculate Concep-

quam sua impleturus erat gratia. Clamat angelus. Ne timeas inquit maria. Ecce concipies et paries filium. et vocabitur nomen ejus Ihesus. Ihesus salutaris. qui et corporum et animarum nostrarum procuravit salutem. utrumque sui generis resurrectione reformans. Nam corpus a corruptione et mortalitate. animam vero nostram resuscitabit ab omni passibilitate. Merito igitur salutaris dicitur. qui humanæ infirmitati sufficientem sumministrat salutem. Unde evangelista. Et verbum
Fol. 217, col. 2. inquit caro factum est et *habitavit in nobis. Sed quod verbum? Verbum transitorium? Absit. Set verbum manens quod erat ab initio. quod audivimus et vidimus. et manus nostræ tractaverunt de verbo vitæ. Queris. hoc videre verbum? Vide deum. et videbis verbum dei. Sic enim veritas protestatur. Philippe qui videt me videt et patrem. et omnia quæ habet pater habet filius. et sine filio nichil operatur pater. Pater principium.

* The asterisk here (and elsewhere) over a line which has Fol. standing against it, indicates the exact point at which the new Fol. commences in the MS.

tion (solemnly made *de fide*, Dec. 8, 1854), according to which Mary herself was conceived without sin. Bishop Herbert, on the other hand (who died some thirty or forty years before that dogma took a definite shape), holds that she was purged both of original and actual sin at the moment when by the Holy Ghost she conceived our Lord. Erroneous as this view is, it was no doubt adopted originally as an escape from a difficulty, which often perplexes thoughtful minds, namely, how a perfectly sinless Humanity, like that of our blessed Lord, could be drawn out of the sinful humanity of the Virgin. The answer probably is, that the Holy Spirit did indeed purge the Lord's human nature in the womb, which needed such purgation, as being taken from a sinner.

Herbert's doctrine seems the same with that taught by Gregory Nazianzen (A.D. 350, *Oratio* 38, c. 13), where, speaking of the Nativity of our Lord, he says, "He became a man in all things, except sin, being conceived of the Virgin who was previously purified (προκαθαρθείσης) by the Spirit both in soul and body." (If purified then, she must have been impure before).

d "refashioning." The word *reformo*, which we have thus translated, is

her whom He was about to fill with His grace. The Angel cries [to her], *Fear not, Mary, . . . Behold thou shalt conceive* [*in thy womb*] *and bring forth a son, and shalt call His Name Jesus*,—JESUS the Saviour, Who hath procured the salvation both of our bodies and souls, refashioning[d] by His resurrection both [body and soul], each after its own kind. For the body He will raise from corruption and mortality, but our soul from all subjection to suffering. Justly therefore is He called Saviour, Who ministereth to human infirmity a sufficient salvation. Whence the Evangelist; *And the Word*, saith he, *was made flesh and dwelt among us*. But what Word? A word that passeth away? God forbid,—but the abiding Word, *which was from the beginning, which we have heard and seen, and our hands have handled of the Word of life*. Dost thou seek to see this Word? See God, and thou shalt see the Word of God. For so the Truth protesteth; *Philip, he that hath seen Me hath seen the Father; and all things which the Father hath the Son hath*[e]; *and without the Son the Father worketh nothing*. The Father is the beginning, in which beginning was

St. Luke i. 30, 31.

St. John i. 14.

1 John i. 1.

St. John xiv. 9.

St. John xvi. 15.

of frequent occurrence in these Sermons. Here it is used with great precision of the re-constitution of body and soul, which shall take place at the Resurrection, the same basis (constituting personal identity) being preserved in both cases, but developed under a new form or condition of existence. It is the "making all things new" of Rev. xxi. 5.

[e] "all things which the Father hath, the Son hath," &c. Taking the edition of the Vulgate authorized by Clement VIII. in 1593 as representing the version of it current in Bp. Herbert's days (about 500 years before), we find that his quotations are sometimes verbally accurate, and sometimes give the sense of the original in other words. Here we have an instance of the latter kind of quotation :—

Vulg. of 1593.	*Herbert's Quotation.*
Omnia quæcunque habet	Omnia quæ habet
Pater, mea sunt. (John xvi. 15.)	Pater, habet Filius.

The next words, although they look like a text, are nowhere found in Holy Scripture. Probably the writer had in his mind the passage, "The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do," John v. 19; and it being in the course of his argument to magnify the *Second* Person of the blessed Trinity, quoted it as if it had been, "The Father can do nothing of Himself without the Son,"—an obvious, though no doubt unintentional, perversion of the Sacred Text.

in quo principio erat verbum. et de principio principium. Unde evangelista. In principio erat verbum. et verbum erat aput deum. et deus erat verbum. Hoc erat in principio aput deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. et sine ipso factum est nichil. Habes quater erat. quia non erat quando filius non erat. Humiliatur virtus ad infirmitatem. et dei sapientia nostram inclinatur ad insipientiam. Sic enim habes in apostolo. Qui cum in forma dei esset non rapinam inquit arbitratus est esse se equalem deo. set semet ipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens. in similitudinem hominum factus. et habitu inventus ut homo. Numquit sion dicet homo? et homo natus est in ea. et ipse fundavit eam altissimus. Dei nativitas nostros excedit contuitus. mentis reverberat vivacitatem. sicut scriptum est. Generationem ejus quis enarrabit? Verum ut prædiximus diligenter attendamus que apponuntur nobis. Attendamus fieri de nullo patrem. de patre filium nasci. de patre et filio procedere spiritum sanctum. Aderat pater.

[f] "a beginning from a beginning"—*de principio principium.* It may be much questioned how far this language is orthodox. It seems to assert two ἀρχαὶ in the Godhead, whereas from the words of Holy Scripture, "Only-begotten Son," "My Father is greater than I," "The Son can do nothing of Himself but what He seeth the Father do," &c., the Church has constantly concluded that there is a certain eminence or priority in the Father, in respect of His being (to use the words of Bp. Pearson) "not only eternally, but originally God." "There is no difference or inequality in the nature or essence" [of the Father and the Son], "because the same in both; but the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath that nature of Himself, from none; Christ hath the same, not of Himself, but from Him." Pearson on the Creed, vol. i. p. 243. And St. Basil says [vol. iii. p. 31, E], "And let no one think that I say either that there be three *original* divine Persons (τρεῖς ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις), or that the operation of the Son is incomplete. For there is *one* beginning of all things which exist, and which createth [them] through the Son, and consummateth them in the

the Word, and He was a beginning from a beginning[f]. Whence the Evangelist saith, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made.* Ye have the *was* four times, because there never was a time when the Son was not. The Power of God humbleth itself to our infirmity, and the Wisdom of the Lord stoops to our folly. For so ye have it in the Apostle; *Who though He was in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. Shall not Sion say: This man and that man is born in her? and the Highest Himself hath founded her?* The Nativity of God passeth the gaze of our [understanding], and beateth back the liveliness of the mind, as it is written, *Who shall declare His generation?*

St. John i. 1—3.

Phil. ii. 6, 7.

Ps. lxxxvi. 5.

Is. liii. 8.

But as we said before, let us give diligent heed to the things which are set before us. Let us give heed [to the truth] that the Father is made of none, that the Son is begotten[g] of the Father, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son. The Father

Spirit." It must, however, be admitted that the idea of an Original or Beginning, which does not involve a priority of time (for it is of course to be stedfastly maintained that the Son, no less than the Father, is "from everlasting"), is exceedingly difficult to grasp. Perhaps we shall never get nearer to the great truth in our conceptions of it, than by thinking of it under the old illustration of the sun and his ray. The ray is bound up in the sun, and is of the sun's nature; and yet we conceive of the sun as the source of the ray, and as existing in the order of thought, if not in the order of time, before the ray.

[g] "begotten of the Father." We have substituted the phraseology of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds for Bp. Herbert's word, "that the Son is *born* (nasci) of the Father." One would have expected *gigni*. In Novatian, as quoted by Pearson on the Creed (vol. ii. p. 33), the word *nascor* is applied to express the Son's relation to the Father, "Necesse est quodammodo prior sit [Pater], qua Pater sit, quoniam antecedat necesse est eum qui habet originem, ille qui originem nescit. Simul ut hic minor sit, dum in illo esse se scit habens originem, quia *nascitur*."

aderat filius. aderat spiritus sanctus in utero virginis. pariter formabant de virgine hominem. quem solus sortitus est filius suæ unitioni personæ. Mens dei mentem accepit humanam. et per mentem animam. et per animam carnem. et dignatione mirabili suæ majestati perfectum univit hominem.
f. 217, b. Vagit editus infans. set virginis* uterus consistit integer. Expositum jacet puerperium. set angelorum præsentiæ obstetrices virginis admirantur integritatem. Nullus parturientis dolor. quía nulla virginitatis defloratio nulla precesserat concipiendi libido. Concurrunt elementa. et quibus præcipiuntur signis sui auctoris præsentiam manifestant. Predicant angeli pastoribus gaudium magnum exortum fuisse mundo. clamant gloria in excelsis deo. et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis. Rutilat novum sidus. et tota cœlestis milicia eterni regis nove nativitati famulatur. Novi exortu sideris. mundi commonentur principes. suis egrediuntur regnis. alienis peregrinantur provinciis. regum requirunt regem. et inventum misticis hono-

[h] "a man who fell to the Son alone, to be united to His Person"—*hominem, quem solus sortitus est Filius suæ unitioni Personæ.* The expression is a little equivocal, and probably was employed by the preacher without much consideration. Taken by itself it would almost seem to favour the heresy of Nestorius, condemned by the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, which "divided Christ into two Persons, the Son of God and the Son of Man, the one a Person begotten of God before all worlds, the other also a Person born of the Virgin Mary, and *in special favour chosen to be made entire to the Son of God above all men.*" (Hooker, E. P., bk. v. ch. 52, sec. 3.)

[i] "and through a mind a soul, and through a soul flesh." Observe this threefold division of human nature—the reason, the affections, and the animal element,—corresponding exactly with St. Paul's division in 1 Thes. v. 23, "I pray God that your whole *spirit, and soul, and body*, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." Observe also how admirably our Lord is represented as partaking of the lower faculties

was present; the Son was present, the Holy Ghost was present in the womb of the Virgin, and all alike formed from the Virgin a man who fell to the Son alone, to be united to His Person[h]. The Mind of God took to itself a human mind, and through a mind a soul, and through a soul flesh[i], and thus with marvellous condescension united to His Majesty a perfect Man. The wailing Babe is brought forth; but the womb of the Virgin remaineth inviolate. The child lieth exposed; but the angels who were present and gave attendance[k] at the birth wonder at the purity of the Virgin. No pain had she in childbed; for there had been no loss of virginity, no lust in conceiving had gone before[l].

The elements join with each other to manifest the presence of their Creator by those signs which are enjoined upon them. Angels announce to the shepherds that great joy had arisen to the world. They cry, *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will.* A new star beams forth [in the sky], and all the heavenly host waits upon the Nativity of the new-born and eternal King. By the rising of the new star the princes of the world are warned [of the event]; they go forth of their kingdoms; they journey through strange countries; they enquire after the King of Kings; and when found they honour Him with gifts, wherein is

St. Luke ii. 14.

through the higher, His marvellous condescension bringing Him first into union with a created intelligence, then with human affections, and finally with the animal œconomy. Thus He "descended" for our sakes, as the same Apostle has it, "into the lower parts of the earth." Eph. iv. 9.

[k] "who were present and gave attendance,"—literally, "gave attendance as *midwives*." The idea is quaint; but it may be said that as Angels assisted at the Resurrection or *second* Birth of Christ, Acts xiii. 32, 33 (for who but Angels could have wrapped together the linen cloths in a place by themselves, John xx. 6, 7?), and indeed ministered to Him through His whole earthly career (see Matt. iv. 11; Luke xxii. 43; John xx. 12; Acts i. 10), so it is very improbable that they should not have waited upon Him at His Birth. In old pictures of the Nativity, Angels are seen holding the swaddling-clothes to the fire.

[l] "no lust in conceiving had gone before." Holy Scripture, however, does not attribute the pangs of childbirth to any sin in conceiving, but to the original transgression of Eve. Gen. iii. 16.

rant muneribus. Turbatur impietas herodis. et fremit perfidia iudæorum. Set nullum consilium contra eum. et dolum deo præparare insanire est. Nascitur in vico Bethleem deus de virgine. involvitur pannis rerum dominus. collocatur in præsepe. nascitur extra domum in diversorio. et fit spelunca tanti principis hospitium. quæ fuerat ante ara brutorum animalium. Ecce quo in loco thorus præparatur virginis. cune collocantur auctoris. Lux mundi obscuratur carne. obscuratur hospicio. et qui collisurus erat inmundorum spirituum ambitiones? nullis delectabatur ambitionibus. Ecce dilectissimi fratres habetis deum extra domum in aperto. concurrite ad salutem vestram. proposita

[m] "there is no counsel against God." The reference is to Prov. xxi. 30, "Non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum."

[n] "a lodge." We have adopted this rendering of *diversorium*, as thinking that it expresses what we suppose to be the author's meaning, "in an outhouse, which is not the main building, and yet affords some sort of shelter." In the Authorized Version of Isaiah i. 8, the word is used of a temporary shed, for the protection of the keeper of a vineyard or garden, "The daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a *lodge* in a garden of cucumbers." Immediately afterwards Herbert calls the scene of the Holy Nativity "spelunca," *a cave*, not inconsistently with what had gone before. It probably was a grotto, partly natural, partly hewn in the rock, with perhaps a rudely thatched porch at the entrance.

Dean Stanley, in an interesting passage, discusses the question whether the "spelunca" now shown beneath the church of Helena was really the scene of the Holy Nativity. *For* this conclusion he gives the following arguments, (1.) that the tradition to that effect is as old as Justin Martyr; (2.) that caves in the limestone rock were commonly used in Palestine for horses and cattle. *Against* it, (1.) that the Adoration of the Magi, generally and traditionally supposed to have been on the same spot, is said to have taken place in a *house* (Matt. ii. 11); (2.) that the numerous caves of Palestine are a strong feature of the country, each of which would be naturally connected with some event of sacred story, which connexion therefore must always be regarded with some suspicion; (3.) that a fanciful fulfilment of the prophecy ("He shall dwell on high; His place of defence shall be the munitions of *rocks*," Isaiah xxxiii. 16) was an inducement to find a rocky cave as the birthplace of Messiah; and (4.) that when, at the

a mystery. Impious Herod is troubled, and the treacherous Jews murmur. But there is no counsel against God [m], and to devise a device against God is madness. The Lord is born of a Virgin in the town of Bethlehem; the Lord of all things is wrapped in swaddling-clothes; He is laid in a manger; He is born without the house in a lodge [n]; and a cave, which before had been the stall [o] of brute beasts, becomes a room for the entertainment of so great a Sovereign. Behold in what a place the Virgin's bed is made ready, the cradle of the Creator is set. The Light of the world is darkened by the flesh; it is darkened by [so mean a] shelter; and He Who was to crush the haughty suit of the unclean spirits, hath no flattering suit made unto Himself.

Behold, dearly beloved brethren, ye have a Lord without the house in an open shed. Run ye together

time of Ibrahim Pasha's invasion, the Arabs seized and dismantled the cave, and laid bare the rock, an *ancient* sepulchre was found there. ("Sinai and Palestine," p. 434, &c.)

[o] "the stall." The word *hara* (derived possibly from the Greek χοιρὸς, "a pig," possibly from a Hebrew word meaning "a hole") signifies in the Classical writers a pen for small animals, especially pigs. In the mediæval Latin the word is used of a stall for horses. The animals conventionally represented by painters as present at the Nativity are the ox and the ass. So in the well-known Latin hymn :—

Puer natus in Bethlehem
Unde gaudet Jerusalem.
Hic jacet in præsepio,
Qui regnat sine termino.
Cognovit *bos et asinus*
Quod puer erat Dominus.

On which last words Abp. Trench ("Sacred Latin Poetry," p. 93) comments thus: "Two passages in the Old Testament supplied the groundwork to that widespread legend which painters of the Nativity have so often made their own, and to which here the poet alludes, viz. that the ox and the ass recognised and worshipped that Lord whom the Jews ignored and rejected. The first and principal of these is of course Isaiah i. 3, 'The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib.' There was seen here a prophetic reference to the manger at Bethlehem; and no less at Habakkuk iii. 2, where the Septuagint has strangely enough, ἐν μεσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ (in the midst of two living creatures Thou shalt be recognised), being followed herein by the old Italic, 'In medio duorum animalium innotesceris.'"

fruimini medicina. Quem querebatis supra sidera. contemplamini in spelunca. Amplectimini cunas. veneramini pannos. saciamini lacrimis verbi carnis facti adorate infantiam. Sordet locus. set puritatis auctor tanta humiliatione vos vestris abluit sordibus. Mira res. Loco in sordido beatorum spirituum totus adest senatus. et de exiguo hospitio
t. 217, b, col. 2. rerum universitas administratur. Felix vicus. gloriosam continens speluncam. felicior spelunca. mundi confovens salvatorem. Ecce fercula quæ præmisimus. ecce merum quod commiscuimus. Accedite. gustate. et videte quoniam suavis est dominus. In cœlis erat panis angelorum. set in bethleem factus est panis hominum. Merito igitur locus iste domus dicebatur panis. unde angelorum et hominum carnaliter fuerat oriundus panis. Hanc ei de virgine nativitatem patriarche figuraverunt. prophete prædixerunt. sancti apostoli linguis et universis tribubus prædicaverunt. Inde vetus et novum consurgit testamentum. et nulla sacra reperitur pagina. quæ verbo incarnato non afferat testimonium. Quæ fuit ratio. ut de primo homine tolleretur costa. et formaretur in mulierem. nisi quia de mortui salvatoris latere fluxerunt san-

p "In Heaven He was the bread of angels," &c. The allusion is to the etymology of the Hebrew name Beth-lehem (בֵּית־לֶחֶם), which means, "house of bread." Doubtless there is a mystery in Christ's having been born there, He being (to use His own words, John vi. 32) "the living Bread that came down from Heaven." There is also probably an allusion to Ps. lxxviii. 25, "*Man* did eat *Angels'* food." The primary reference of these words of the Psalmist is to the *manna*. And the manna is recognised by our Lord as a figure of Himself in the words (John vi. 32), "Moses gave you not that Bread from heaven; but My Father giveth you the true" (ἀληθινὸν, i.e. antitypical—substantial in contrast to figurative) "Bread from

to your salvation, avail yourselves joyfully of the medicine which is set before you. Him Whom [once] ye sought above the stars, behold now in a cave. Embrace ye His cradle; do worship to His swaddling-clothes; take your fill of tears; adore the infancy of the Word made flesh. The place is foul; but such is the humiliation wherewith the Author of all purity washes you from the foulness of your sins. A marvellous thing truly! In this foul place the whole venerable assembly of blessed spirits is present, and from this narrow guest-chamber the affairs of the whole world are administered. Happy is the town which contains so glorious a cave; happier [still] the cave which shelters the Saviour of the world. Behold the dishes which we have set before you, behold the new wine which we have mingled for you: Draw near, *taste, and see that the Lord is sweet.* Ps. xxxiii. 9. In Heaven He was the bread of angels[p], but in Bethlehem He became the bread of men. Justly, therefore, was that place called the House of bread, whence, according to the flesh[q], was to spring the Bread of Angels and of men.

This Birth of God from a Virgin the Patriarchs showed in a figure, the Prophets foretold, the holy Apostles preached to all tongues and tribes. Thence there arose the Old and the New Testament; and there is found no sacred page, which does not bear its testimony to the Incarnate Word. What was the signification of a rib being taken from the first man and formed into a woman, but that from the side of the dead Saviour

Heaven." It is a very deep thought, and one quite supported by Scripture, that Christ is the Bread of *angels*, as well as of *men*. It is not only (nor perhaps chiefly) as adapted to the wants of *sinners* that He is called *Bread;* for Angels have never sinned. Bread is the staff of life; we subsist by it. And of the Lord Jesus it is written, "By Him *all things*"—Angels and the framework of Nature, no less than men—"consist." Col. i. 17.

[q] The word "carnaliter," here translated "according to the flesh" (or human nature), is unknown to the Vulgate. The equivalent for it in the Vulgate is *secundum carnem*. Rom. i. 3, "De Filio suo, qui factus est ei ex semine David secundum carnem."

guis et aqua. nostra videlicet sacramenta. quibus sancta ecclesia abluitur. potatur. et vivificatur? Noe super aquas diluvii plenam cunctis animantibus gubernavit archam. Salvator noster inter mundanarum procellarum perturbationes. sanctam gubernat ecclesiam. *Abraham vir caldeus domo et gubernavit archam. Salvator noster inter mundanarum procellarum perturbationes sanctam gubernat ecclesiam.* Abraham vir caldeus domo et genere suo egressus. a deo jussus est suum immolare filium. Annuit. processit ad locum quem sibi præparaverat deus. Arripuit gladium filium immolaturus. set angelo retinente gladium? aries immolatur. et isaach conservatus est. Ita in cruce salvatoris divinitas mansit inpassibilis. et humana natura succubuit passioni. Longum est referre. iacob. ioseph moysen. et ceteros patri-
f. 218. archas. quorum habitus* et facta futurorum temporum fuerunt vaticinia. Iis sancti successerunt prophetæ. qui verbi incarnationem tantis clamoribus prædixerunt. ut totum orbem hac de promissione adimplerent. et in fines orbis terræ sonus eorum exiret. Clamat ysaias. Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium. et vocabitur nomen ejus emmanuel. Et infra. Parvulus natus est nobis. filius datus est nobis. cujus imperium super humerum ejus. et vocabitur nomen ejus admirabilis. consiliarius. deus fortis. pater futuri seculi. princeps pacis. In illa die stillabunt montes dulcedinem. et colles fluent lac et mel. et in omni vico alleluia decantabitur. Clamat et ieremias. Ecce dies veniunt dicit dominus. et suscitabo david germen justum. et regnabit rex. et sapiens erit. et faciet judicium et justitiam in terra. In diebus illis salvabitur iuda. et israel habitabit confidenter.

The words in Italics are in the MS. underlined, as a method of erasure.

there flowed blood and water, our Sacraments to wit, by which holy Church is washed, refreshed, and quickened? Noah governed his ark, thronged with every living thing of all flesh, upon the waters of the Flood. Our Saviour amidst the troublous storms of this world, governeth His holy Church. Abraham, a man of Chaldea, after he had come out from his house and his kindred, was commanded by God to offer up his son. He consented; he went to the place which God had made ready for him. He seized the knife, intending to slay his son; but, the Angel holding back the sword, a ram is sacrificed and Isaac is saved. So on the Cross the Divinity of the Saviour remained free from suffering, while the human nature fell under the power of the Passion. The time would fail me to tell of Jacob, and of Joseph, and of Moses, and of other Patriarchs, whose deeds and manner of life were prophecies of times to come after. To them succeeded the holy Prophets, who foretold the Incarnation of the Word with cries so loud, that they filled the whole world with this promise, and *their sound went out unto the ends of the world.* Thus Isaiah cries, *Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and His name shall be called Emmanuel.* And further on; *Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, Whose government shall be upon His Shoulder, and His Name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace. In that day the mountains shall drop down sweetness, and the hills shall flow with milk and honey, and in every town Alleluia shall be chanted.* Jeremiah also cries, *Behold the days come, saith the Lord, and I will raise unto David a just Branch, and a King shall reign, and shall be wise, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Israel shall dwell confidently,*

Ps. xviii. 5.

Is. vii. 14.

Is. ix. 6.

Joel iii. 18.

Tobit xiii. 22.

Jer. xxiii. 5, 6.

et hoc est nomen quod vocabunt eum. dominus justus noster. Daniel abstemius. et pudicus adolescens inter babilonios. patrias conservavit leges. et sanctum promeruit spiritum. et non solum quod deus futurus esset homo. set quibus id temporibus contingeret manifestissime prædixit. Aspiciebam inquit in visione noctis. et ecce cum nubilibus cœli filius hominis veniebat. et usque ad antiquum dierum pervenit. et in conspectu ejus optulerunt eum. et dedit ei potestatem. et honorem. et regnum. et omnis populus. tribus. et lingue ipsi servient. Potestas ejus potestas æterna quæ non auferetur. et regnum ejus quod non corrumpetur Et infra. Animadverte inquit angelus sermonem. et intellige visionem. septuaginta ebdomades abbreviate sunt super populum tuum. et super urbem sanctam tuam? ut consumetur prævaricatio.* et finem accipiat peccatum. et deleatur iniquitas. et adducatur justitia sempiterna. et impleatur visio et prophetia. et unguatur sanctus sanctorum. Scito ergo et animadverte. ab exitu sermonis ut iterum edificetur. ierusalem usque ad christum ducem ebdomades septem et ebdomades lxxij[as]. et rursum edificabitur platea. et muri in angustia temporum. et post ebdomades lxxij[as]. occidetur Christus. et non erit populus qui eum negaturus est. Et civitatem. et sanctuarium dissipabit populus cum duce venturo. et finis ejus vastitas. et post finem belli statuta desolatio. Confirmabit autem pactum multis ebdomada una. et in medio ebdomadis deficiet hostia. et sacrificium. et in templo erit abhominatio desolationis. et usque ad consummationem et finem perseverabit desolatio. Evidens et luculenta prosecutio. set sancti spiritus præsentia necessaria est

f. 218, col. 2.

"Septuaginta duas" in a later hand, in the margin.

and this is the Name that they shall call Him, the Lord our Just One. Daniel, an abstinent and a modest youth, kept the laws of his country while among the Babylonians, and received as his recompence the Holy Spirit, and foretold most clearly not only that God should become Man, but at what time that should come to pass. *I beheld,* saith he, *in the vision of the night, and lo, the Son of Man came with the clouds of Heaven, and He came even to the Ancient of days; and they presented Him before Him. And He gave Him power, and glory, and a kingdom; and all people, tribes, and tongues shall serve Him: His power is an everlasting power which shall not be taken away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed.* And further on; *Mark,* saith the angel, *the word, and understand the vision. Seventy weeks are shortened upon thy people and thy holy city, that transgression may be finished, and sin may have an end, and iniquity may be abolished, and everlasting justice may be brought, and vision and prophecy may be fulfilled, and the Saint of Saints anointed. Know, therefore, and take notice that from the going forth of the word to build Jerusalem again unto Christ the Prince shall be seven weeks and sixty and two weeks; and the street shall be built again, and the walls in straitness of times. And after sixty-two weeks shall Christ be slain, and there shall be no people*[r] *who shall deny Him. And a people with a prince who shall come shall destroy the city and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be a waste; and after the end of the war the appointed desolation. But He shall confirm the covenant with many in one week; and in the half of the week the victim and the sacrifice shall fail, and there shall be in the Temple the abomination of desolation, and the desolation shall continue even to the consummation and to the end.* An evident and clear argument; but the Presence of the Holy Spirit is

Dan. vii. 13, 14.

Dan. ix. 24, ad fin.

[r] In the Vulgate the word *ejus* is inserted, "Non erit *ejus* populus, qui eum negaturus est:" which the Douay Version renders thus, "The people that shall deny Him shall not be His."

nostro intellectui. Accipietis igitur ebdomadas non dierum. set annorum. Accipietis annos non cursu solis. set cursu lunæ determinatos. Ea enim computatione suos veteres computabant annos. Unde

[s] Herbert's warning of the necessity of the Holy Spirit to qualify for the right understanding of intricate Prophecies, might well be laid to heart by modern expositors of the Revelation. He possibly had in his mind the passage, "No prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not of old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The meaning of the "*for*" in which passage may possibly be that as Prophecy came by the Spirit, it is to be interpreted only by the Spirit, a Source of interpretation accessible to *all*, and unlike in this respect to the fancies of men, which are private to each individual.

[t] Dean Prideaux (Connexion, vol. i. p. 293) has a thorough and exhaustive disquisition on this Prophecy of Daniel, which the reader may consult. He considers that the seventy weeks date from the commission granted to Ezra to restore the political and ecclesiastical state of the Jews, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ezra vii. 11); our Lord having suffered in the month Nisan of the year of the Julian Period 4746, and Ezra's commission having been issued in the month Nisan of the year of the same Period 4256. Having established this point to his satisfaction, he then gives at length and criticises the other arrangement of the dates (that adopted by Herbert, in common with the "Romish doctors") as follows;

"But several great and learned men having a particular fancy to begin the computation of these weeks from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, notwithstanding this objection, they have devised several ways and methods for the removal of it, and the reconciling the ending of these weeks, as calculated from this beginning, with the time of the events predicted.

"The first way which hath been proposed for this purpose, is to reckon the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of this prophecy, by lunar years; and this hath been of a very ancient date, for it hath Africanus for its author, who flourished in the beginning of the third century; and he is followed by Theodoret, Beda, Zonaras, Rupertus, and others; and the generality of the Romish doctors strike in with this opinion; into which they are chiefly led by the vulgar Latin translation, which they have decreed in their Trentine Council to be authentic. For instead of what we read in the beginning of the prophecy, *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, &c.*, this translation renders it, *Septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatæ sunt super populum tuum*, i.e. *Seventy weeks are abbreviated upon thy people;* from whence they argue, this abbreviation of the years must be either in their number or their quality. It cannot be in their number; for the text absolutely determines that to seventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years; and therefore it must be in their

necessary[s] to our understanding [thereof]. Ye shall understand therefore that the weeks be not weeks of days, but of years. And ye shall understand that the years be reckoned, not by the course of the sun, but by that of the moon[t]. For by that count the ancients

quality or form, that is, they must be lunar years, which are short years, and not solar years, which are longer years. But the Hebrew word *nechtac* in the text will not bear this interpretation. For the true meaning or signification of it in that place is, *are decided or determined*, as in our English version; and in this sense it is used in the Chaldee paraphrase, and nowhere in any other. I confess the word doth not occur any where else in the whole Hebrew Bible, or any other word of that root, and in the Septuagint it is rendered *συνετμήθησαν*. But this is not sufficient to justify either the meaning which they would put upon the word, or the inference which they would deduce from it; and if it could, the difficulty would not be removed by it. For lunar years would carry us beyond the mark, as well as solar years fall short of it. For whereas the four hundred and seventy-seven solar years, which were from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the death of Christ, fall thirteen years short of the four hundred and ninety years, at the end of which this prophecy doth put it: the same four hundred and seventy-seven years, when converted into lunar years, making four hundred and ninety-one years, and two hundred forty-six days over, do carry us one year and two hundred forty-six days (which is a great part of another year) beyond the said four hundred and ninety years. And therefore this way of computation doth by no means adjust the difference, but still leaves it wide of an agreement, although not so wide as it was before. Besides, when Daniel had this prophecy revealed unto him by the angel Gabriel, there was not any form of a year purely lunar then anywhere in use. The Chaldean year at that time was most certainly the Nabonassarean year, consisting of three hundred and sixty-five days, and the Egyptian year was the same, and so was also the Persian. The Jews, indeed, had their common years purely lunar, consisting of twelve lunar months, and so had the Greeks, only with this difference, that whereas the Jews' lunar months were strictly lunar, as being observed by the phasis, the Greeks mistaking a lunar month to consist exactly of thirty days, in compounding of their year of twelve of them made it amount to three hundred and sixty days, which exceeded its true astronomical measure almost six days. But besides the common years they had also intercalated years intermixed with the common years, which reduced all to the solar form. For what was defective of it in the common years was restored in the intercalated years. And this the Jews as well as the Greeks were necessitated to by their festivals. For the Nisan of the Jewish year, which begun their ecclesiastical year, being pinned down by their Passover (which was always celebrated in the middle of it) to the time of the beginning of their harvest; and the month of Tisri, which begun their civil year, being likewise pinned down by the feast of Tabernacles (which was always celebrated in the middle of that month) to the

contingit. ut a tempore hujus prophetiæ usque ad mortem salvatoris. quadringenti nonaginta computentur anni. Siquidem persæ ab hoc tempore usque ad mortem darii centum quindecim regnaverunt annis. Macedones. ccc^{tis}. Romani a morte cleopatre usque ad xvij^{mum}. annum imperii tiberii cesaris. lx^{ta}. Cujus tempore passus est salvator. et synagoga subversa est et ydolatriæ impietas paulatim vilescere cepit. Referrem david. salomonem. xii. prophetas. legem. et sacras hystorias. que omnia verbi incarnati sunt sacramenta. et vaticinia.

"trecentis" in margin.

"septimum decimum" in margin.

time of the ending of their vintage, this necessitated them to fling in an intercalary month, whenever their year fell short of these seasons. And the Greeks were likewise necessitated to do the same thing for the sake of their festivals, especially for the sake of their Olympiads. For the fixed time for their celebrating of those games being the first full moon after the summer solstice, it always fell within the compass of one lunar month, either sooner or later in the solar year, and there being just four years between Olympiad and Olympiad, this necessarily made these years to be solar years; and cycles and rules of intercalation were invented of purpose to bring them to it; and the same is to be said of all other nations which used the like form. Although they might measure their months by the motion of the moon, they always regulated their years according to that of the sun. The Arabs, indeed, from the time of Mahomet, have used a year purely lunar, and the Turks do the same in imitation of them, and so do all others of their sect. But of the ancients we find none that followed this form. All among them that had lunar years, had also intercalated years to make amends for their defects; and therefore whatsoever any of their years might be in their singular numbers, they were always solar in their collective sums. And who can think, then, that in the collective sum of seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of them, the angel should intend a computation which was then nowhere in practice the whole world over. This prophecy concerning principally the Jews, and being written to them, (for it is in the Hebrew, which was the Jews' language, and not in the Chaldee, as some other parts of Daniel are,) it is most likely that the computation of the time mentioned therein should be according to the Jewish form, and none other. And there is one argument which, I think, undeniably proves it to be so. The weeks of years, by which the time of this prophecy is computed, are plainly and manifestly the same with the sabbaths of years mentioned Leviticus xxv. 8, and therefore must be reckoned by the same sort of years: but it is certain that those sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years, and therefore these weeks of years must be so too. That these sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years

were wont to reckon their years. Hence it comes to pass that from the time of this prophecy down to the death of our Saviour, there are reckoned 490 years; since from the time aforesaid down to the death of Darius, the Persians reigned [u] 115 years; the Macedonians 300 years; the Romans (from the death of Cleopatra down to the 17th year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar) 60 years. In whose time our Saviour suffered, and the Synagogue was overthrown, and the impiety of idolatry began by degrees to be lightly esteemed. I might make mention of David, Solomon, the twelve Prophets, the Law, and the sacred Histories, all which be sacraments [x] and prophecies of the Incarnate Word:

is manifest. For they all begun from the first of Tisri, which was pinned down by the feast of Tabernacles (which was always celebrated in the middle of that month) to a certain season of the year, (as hath been already observed,) and from that season in one year to the same season in another can only be measured by the course of the sun. And all this put together sufficiently shews, that lunar years are not the years which this prophecy is to be computed by." (Prideaux's Connexion, vol. i. pp. 313—316.)

[u] The 115 years from the giving of the Prophecy to the end of the Persian Empire would begin, according to Prideaux's Chronology, 442 years, and end 327 years, before our Lord's Birth.

The 300 years of the Macedonian Empire would begin with the battle of Arbela, 327 years, and end with the battle of Actium, 27 years, before our Lord's Birth.

The remaining years from the battle of Actium to the death of Christ (i.e. from the year 27 before Christ to the year 33 after Him) make up 60.

In the above computation, which we suppose to be that adopted by Herbert, the Birth of our Lord is not to be taken for the commencement of the Christian Era, which, according to Dionysius Exiguus, begins four years after the true time of the Nativity.

But it will be observed (1) that (possibly from some mistake in the MS.) Herbert's 115 + 300 + 60 do not make up 490, but fall 15 years short of that sum; and (2) that he seems to be in error as to the point from which the computation is to start, supposing it (apparently) to be the date of the prophecy; whereas the words are, "*From the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build* Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince, &c. &c."

[x] This is a fit opportunity of noticing the various meanings which this famous word bears in his writings, and to trace the derivation of each meaning from the fundamental idea.

Sacramentum then in these writings (as generally in mediæval treatises) is a word of very extensive application, whose radical notion seems to be *something outward* (whether an incident, an action, or merely a substance),

set quibus predicta non sufficiunt. surdi sunt? et nimia cecitate perculsi. christianæ fidei exsortes

but yet something which the outward aspect does not exhaust,—which has a connexion with the unseen world. In this sense Prayer might be called a Sacrament. A person kneeling, and lifting up eyes and hands to heaven, is the outward and visible circumstance; but the Prayer penetrates into the unseen world, and moves the springs of that Will, which moves the universe. Indeed in this wide view of the word there is no substance, no action, no incident, to which it might not apply. Every object of the world of nature is an idea of the Infinite Mind, embodied and visibly expressed. Every action is the expression of a thought, and of a motive which prompts it. Every event is under the control of God's Providence, and is made to work out one of His designs.—It will at once appear from this statement with how much propriety the great events of our Blessed Lord's Life are called by Mediæval Writers *Sacramenta*. For first His Godhead, in all those events, was shrouded and veiled "under the form of a Servant." Then, the event, whatever it was, reached into the unseen world, and affected the existing relations between God and Man. Then thirdly, each event was a doctrine, as well as an event; His Epiphany, the first drawing of the Gentiles towards Him; His Transfiguration, a glimpse of His future glory; His Agony, a conflict with the Powers of Evil; His death, our Propitiation; His Resurrection, our sentence of acquittal; His Ascension, a necessity in order to His appearing in the Presence of God for us, &c., &c. Each incident of His Life was full charged with lessons, which were developed by the teaching of the Apostles under the guidance of the Holy Ghost.

Thus much being premised, we shall be able to follow Herbert's uses of the word. With him it signifies;

I. THE TYPES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, whether typical Personages, typical ordinances, or typical incidents. All these had a mystical meaning in the background;

(1.) Referrem David, Salomonem, xii Prophetas, Legem, et sacras historias, quæ omnia Verbi Incarnati sunt *Sacramenta* et vaticinia (types and prophecies—a type being only an embodied or acted Prophecy). Serm. I.

(2.) Redde rationem villicationis tuæ, jam enim ulteriùs non poteris villicare. Id est, legalia *Sacramenta* (the mystical significance of the legal ordinances) non ultrà poteris carnali observantiâ suffocare. Serm. XI.

(3.) Paulus prædicavit; mores coluit; vitam adornavit; occulta legis *Sacramenta* reseravit (unlocked the mystical meaning of the legal types). Serm. XI.

(4.) Omnia legis et evangelii *Sacramenta* per revelationem Domini nostri I. C. manifestata [Paulo]. (The mystical meanings of the legal types, and the doctrinal bearings of Gospel history, were all made known to Paul by revelation.) Serm. XI.

II. OUTWARD TOKENS OF THINGS SPIRITUAL UNDER THE GOSPEL DISPENSATION. Thus;

but they for whom the ensamples aforesaid do not suffice are deaf and stricken with exceeding blindness, and have no part or lot in the Christian Faith.

(a.) *The symbols of the Trinity at Our Lord's Baptism.*

1. Reserata in baptizato Domino sanctæ Trinitatis *Sacramenta* prudentiâ Virgo intellexit. Serm. XII.
2. Baptizato mundi Salvatore aperti sunt cœli; et unius Deitatis trium Personarum occulta *Sacramenta* revelata sunt. Serm. II.

(b.) *Symbols in Church rites.* Thus;

1. *Of the ashes used on Ash-Wednesday.* Vestra humiliantur capita, et sacri superponuntur cineres: magnum humilitatis *Sacramentum*, si rei præsignatæ pura subsequatur exhibitio. Serm. IV.
2. *Of the Offices of the Church, which are generally symbolical.* Prolixa Officia; sed Spiritus Sanctus intererit nostris *Sacramentis*. Serm. VI.
3. *Of rites commonly called Sacramental;* Baptismus et Eucharistia et Confirmatio Sancti Spiritûs, tria videlicet præcipua *Sacramenta*. Serm. II.
4. *Of the water in Baptism, and the wine in the Lord's Supper;* Quæ fuit ratio ut de primo homine tolleretur costa, et formaretur in mulierem, nisi quia de mortui Salvatoris latere fluxerunt sanguis et aqua, nostra videlicet *Sacramenta*, quibus sancta Ecclesia abluitur, potatur, et vivificatur? (The Blood and Water represented the wine of the Eucharist, and the water of Baptism.) Serm. I.
5. *Of the outward visible sign, and also of the requisite, for the Sacrament of Baptism.* "Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit." Attende conjuncta Christianæ inchoationis *Sacramenta*. Credis? Baptizare. Baptizaris? Crede. Serm. VIII.
6. *Of the outward part (or sign) in the Lord's Supper;*
   - α. Tales enim convivas convocat Dominus, eisque sui Corporis et Sanguinis largitur *Sacramenta*. Serm. VII.
   - β. Ecce, fratres, prædicto *Sacramento* corporaliter justi et injusti cibantur et potantur; sed justi ad salutem, injusti verò utuntur ad suam dampnationem. Serm. VII.
   - γ. Hæretici quærunt quò propter nostram comestionem præsens convertatur *Sacramentum*. Serm. VII.
   - δ. Ante igitur Dominici Corporis et Sanguinis quotidianum *Sacramentum* lachrymis et interminis deprecationibus . . . exoro clementiam. Letter XI.

   And conversely;
7. *Of the inward part (or thing signified) in the Lord's Supper;* Hoc *Sacramentum*, fratres, non per partes, sed totum singuli accipitis, inscissum, indivisum, integrum, immaculatum. Serm. VII.

III. EVENTS OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST, WITH THEIR DOCTRINAL ASPECTS AND BEARINGS ON THE RELATION BETWEEN GOD AND MAN.

(1.) Servivit Gabriel Angelus Mariæ Virgini, et reverà in omnibus ecclesiasticis *Sacramentis* comes affuit. Serm. XIII.

sunt. Veniamus igitur veniamus fratres bethleem.
f. 218 b. sacram ingrediamur speluncam.* verbi adoremus infantiam. cœlestem comedamus panem. Scindamus corda. pœnitentia et confessione mundemus conscientias nostras. ne illam evangelicam audiamus exprobrationem. Quomodo huc intrasti non habens vestem nupcialem? filii spiritus est deus. et eos qui eum adorent in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare. Abicite ergo opera tenebrarum. et induite arma lucis. sicut in die honeste ambulemus. Abicite fornicationes. inmundicias. luxurias. et vestra adulteria. Pessimum adulterii malum. et quod secundum locum optinet in pœnis. Nam ii primum obtinent inferni locum. qui a veri-

(The mysteries of the Life of Christ are perhaps called the *Church's* mysteries, because of Christ's mystical union with His Church. In Him she conquered the Devil, died, rose again, ascended,—and is spoken of by Apostles as risen and ascended already. Eph. ii. 5, 6.)

(2.) *Of the Adoration of the Magi;*
Magnum *Sacramentum*, dilectissimi Fratres, et quod senex Jacob complendum novissimis diebus præclarè prædixit. Serm. II.

(3.) Fratres, valdè festino, et compendiosè sacra præstringo *Sacramenta.* Serm. VI.

4.) Hic (the General Judgment) finis; et eo fine Dominicæ Incarnationis, Passionis, Resurrectionis, Ascensionis Judicati et Judicantis occulta *Sacramenta* coram omnibus mortalibus patentissime revelabuntur. Serm. VIII.

(These great events, at present only imperfectly understood, even by believers, will at the last Day be disclosed to the full extent of their mysterious significance.)

(5.) Narraturus beatus Evangelista Lucas Divini Verbi Incarnationis *Sacramenta*, convenienter præmittit sui præcursoris Annuntiationem. Serm. X.

(6.) Magna quidem sunt *Sacramenta* Sedulii (the events of Gospel History which he celebrates in his verses) sed ea Matthæus et Marcus, &c., &c., luculentiori exequuntur stilo. Letter IX.

IV. A MYSTERY—A DEEP MYSTERIOUS TRUTH OR LESSON.

(1.) Magnis *Sacramentis*, dilectissimi fratres, præsentis diei (the Epiphany) solennitas honeratur. Serm. II. (The Festival teaches many weighty lessons.)

Come we then, brethren, come we to Bethlehem; enter we the sacred cave; let us adore the Infancy of the Word; let us feed upon the Bread which came down from Heaven. Let us rend our hearts; let us purge our consciences by penitence and confession, lest we should hear that reproof in the Gospels, *How camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment?* My children, *God is a Spirit; and they who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth. Cast away therefore the works of darkness and put ye on the armour of light, and let us walk honestly as in the day.* Cast ye away fornications, uncleannesses, wantonness, and your adulteries. The evil of adultery is worst of all, and among the pains of sin it holds the second place; for those hold the *first* place in hell[y] who fell away from the

St. Matt. xxii. 12.

St. John iv. 24.

Rom. xiii. 12, 13.

(2.) Clementem suum discipulum ecclesiasticis *Sacramentis* informabat [Paulus]. Serm. XI. (trained him in the Truths which are the deposit entrusted to the Church).

(3.) *Of the mysterious Doctrine of the Trinity;*
Attendite, dilectissimi fratres, vestræ fidei *Sacramentum* (after mentioning the Phenomena at our Lord's Baptism) et contemplamini propalatum. Serm. II.

(4.) *Of hidden meanings underlying the words of Scripture;*
α. "Et apparuerunt illis dispertitæ linguæ, tanquam ignis; seditque super singulos eorum Spiritus Sanctus." Certe, fratres, consideranda verba historiæ, et latentia *Sacramenta* diligenter perscrutanda. Serm. IX.
β. "Suggeret vobis omnia; et docebit omnia, quæcunque dixero vobis." Ineffabile *Sacramentum*. Verbum loquitur. Et Spiritus suggerit et docet; quoniam inefficax est sermo prædicantis, si animus intus non alitur amore et fotu Spiritûs Sancti. Serm. IX.
γ. Quomodo poterat pati persecutionem, qui omnem evaserat corruptionem et mortalitatem? (referring to "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?") . . . Altum *Sacramentum*, et verba manantia ineffabili pietate. Serm. XI. (The mysterious truth of Christ's oneness with His mystical Body the Church.)

V. A DEPTH. "Durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare." Videte, fratres, videte Dominicæ miserationis *Sacramenta*, (As if he had said, Oh the *depth* of the Lord's mercy!). Serm. XI.

[y] We have failed to find any passage of mediæval Theology, from which this estimate of Apostasy as the most grievous of all sins, and of Adultery as coming next to it, is drawn. But the awful things said of Apostasy in the Epistle to the Hebrews (c. vi. 4—9), the direct connexion between Apostasy and the powers of darkness which is traced in 1 Tim. iv. 1, and

tate apostatant. Fugite igitur homicidia. sacrilegia. furta. falsa testimonia. et qui suorum fratrum fiunt accusatores ministri sunt sathane. Subvertit Deus sodomam et gomorram igne et sulphure. et qui tali polluuntur libidine tartareum expectant caminum. Fratres. renovamini spiritu mentis vestræ. et induite novum hominem qui secundum deum creatus est. in iusticia et sanctitate veritatis. Apprehendite caritatem. gaudium. pacem. patientiam. longanimitatem. bonitatem. benignitatem. mansuetudinem. temperantiam. fortitudinem. iusticiam. et præcipue continentiam et castitatem. sine quibus impossibile est placere deo. Frequentate opera misericordiæ. vacate elemosinis. quia sicut aqua

the connexion also of "*the* Apostasy" with the revelation of the Man of Sin in 2 Thess. ii. 3, lend some colour to what is here said of that sin; while as regards Adultery, it may be observed that it stands first in St. Paul's catalogue of "works of the flesh," Gal. v. 19.

[z] Cf. Rev. xii. 10, where Satan is called "the accuser (ὁ κατήγορος) of our Brethren," and the word διάβολος = calumniator.

[a] The words come from Ecclus. iii. 33. And that such words are capable of being understood in a sound sense, however questionable they may sound on first hearing them, is plain from these passages of the Homily of Almsdeeds (2nd Part of the Sermon of Almsdeeds, in the Homilies), where this very text is quoted (pp. 354—356);

"*Give alms*, saith he, *and behold all things are clean unto you.* He teacheth them that to be merciful and charitable in helping the poor, is the means to keep the soul pure and clean in the sight of God. We are taught therefore by this, that merciful alms-dealing is profitable to purge the soul from the infection and filthy spots of sin. The same lesson doth the Holy Ghost also teach in sundry places of the Scripture, saying, *Mercifulness and alms-giving purgeth from all sins, and delivereth from death, and suffereth not the soul to come into darkness.* A great confidence may they have before God, that shew mercy and compassion to them that are afflicted. The wise preacher, the son of Sirach, confirmeth the same, when he saith, *That as water quencheth burning fire, even so mercy and alms resisteth and reconcileth sins.* And sure it is, that mercifulness quaileth the heat of sin so much, that they shall not take hold upon man to hurt him; or if he have by any infirmity or weakness been touched and annoyed with them, straightways shall mercifulness wipe and wash them away, as salves and remedies to heal their sores and grievous diseases. And thereupon

truth. Flee therefore murder, sacrilege, theft, false witness. They who become accusers of their brethren are ministers of Satan[z]. God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah with fire and brimstone; and those who are defiled with such like lusts, are reserved for the furnace of hell. Brethren, *be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man, who according to God is created in justice and holiness of truth.* Lay hold of *love, joy, peace, patience, longsuffering, goodness, kindness, gentleness, temperance, fortitude, justice, and especially continency and chastity, without* which *it is impossible to please God*: Abound in the works of mercy; find opportunity for alms-givings, because *alms extinguisheth*[a] *sin, as water*

Eph. iv. 23, 24.

Gal. v. 22, 23.

See Heb. xi. 6.

that holy father Cyprian taketh good occasion to exhort earnestly to the merciful work of giving alms and helping the poor, and there he admonisheth to consider how wholesome and profitable it is to relieve the needy, and help the afflicted, by the which we may purge our sins, and heal our wounded souls.

"But yet some will say unto me, If alms-giving, and our charitable works towards the poor, be able to wash away sins, to reconcile us to God, to deliver us from the peril of damnation, and make us the sons and heirs of God's kingdom; then are Christ's merits defaced, and His blood shed in vain; then are we justified by works, and by our deeds may we merit heaven; then do we in vain believe that Christ died for to put away our sins, and that He rose for our justification, as St. Paul teacheth. But ye shall understand, dearly beloved, that neither those places of the Scripture before alleged, neither the doctrine of the blessed martyr Cyprian, neither any other godly and learned man, when they, in extolling the dignity, profit, fruit, and effect of virtuous and liberal alms, do say that it washeth away sins, and bringeth us to the favour of God, do mean, that our work and charitable deed is the original cause of our acception before God, or that for the dignity or worthiness thereof our sins may be washed away, and we purged and cleansed of all the spots of our iniquity; for that were indeed to deface Christ, and to defraud Him of His glory."—(pp. 354, 355.)

. . . . . .

"The meaning, then, of these sayings in the Scriptures and other holy writings, *Alms-deeds do wash away our sins;* and, *Mercy to the poor doth blot out our offences;* is, that we doing these things according to God's will and our duty, have our sins indeed washed away, and our offences blotted out; not for the worthiness of them, but by the grace of God which worketh all in all, and that for the promise that God hath made to them that are obedient unto His commandment, that He which is the truth might be justified in performing the truth due to His true promise. Alms-deeds

The words within brackets are an interlineation by another hand.

extinguit [ignem, ita elemosina extinguit] peccatum. Ante cœlestem consistitis iudicem. sit fides vera. mores integri. vita inmaculata. Sicut enim qui errat. qui morum pravitate turpatur. qui christianam polluit vitam. servus est sathane? ita qui fidelis consistit. morum integer. suæ conservator continentiæ. filius est dei. et coheres Christi. æterno in regno æternaliter exultaturus. Deus pro hominibus factus est homo. et homines* permanebunt in peccato? Lactatur quidem Deus uberibus virginis. sed præparat tormenta suorum præceptorum contemptoribus. Adest operibus adest sermonibus. adest cogitationibus. adest voluntatibus. Omnia nuda et aperta sunt ei. ad quem nobis sermo. Agite igitur penitentiam. et præteritas deflete culpas. placate humilitate confessionis deum districtum iudicem. quem irritastis elatione prævaricationis. Habetis intercessorem apud deum unicum filium suum. qui vestram tantum dilexit salutem. ut suam majestatem exinaniret. vestræ mortalitatis formam indueret. mortem subiret. vestras iniquitates tolleret. suo patri vestram prævaricationem sui sanguinis effusione reconciliaret. Sulphurea præsentis vitæ incendia. set Christus adest. virgo adest. sancti angeli assunt. et qui coram tantis præliatur testibus. sola de victoria cogitare potest.

f. 218 b, col. 2.

do wash away our sins, because God does vouchsafe then to repute us as clean and pure, when we do them for His sake, and not because they deserve or merit our purging, or for that they have any such strength and virtue in themselves."—(p. 356.)

[b] Observe here how forcibly the contrast between the tender and the stern side of Our Lord's character is brought out—a Scriptural contrast surely. For Christ is spoken of as the Lamb of God (John i. 29, 36), and also as the Lion of the tribe of Judah (Rev. v. 5); we are told of His

doth fire. Ye stand before your Heavenly Judge; let your faith be sincere, your manners uncorrupt, your life unspotted. For as he who errs [from the truth], who is debased by sinful manners, who defiles the Christian life, is a servant of Satan, so [on the other hand] he who is steadfast in the faith, who is sound in manner of life, and preserves his continency, is a son of God and a joint-heir with Christ, who shall rejoice eternally in their eternal Kingdom. God was made Man for men; and shall men continue in sin? It is true indeed that God is nourished at the breast of a Virgin; but He[b] prepareth torments for those who despise His precepts. He is present with your works, He is present with your words, He is present with your thoughts, He is present with the intents of your hearts. *All things are naked* Heb. iv. 13. *and open to Him with Whom we have to do.* Do penance therefore, and bewail your past faults. By the lowliness of your confession appease God that heart-searching Judge, Whom ye have angered by the presumptuousness of your transgression. Ye have an Intercessor with God, His only Son, Who so loved your salvation that He emptied Himself of His Majesty, put on the fashion of your mortality, underwent death, took away your iniquities, and made atonement for your transgressions to His Father by the shedding of His own Blood. Like a stream of brimstone are the fiery troubles of this present life; but Christ is with you; the Virgin is with you; the holy angels are with you; and he who fights before such witnesses[c] as these may fix his thoughts only on victory.

"meekness and gentleness" (2 Cor. x. 1), and also of "the wrath of the Lamb" (Rev. vi. 16).

[c] Referring no doubt to Heb. xii. 1, "Seeing that we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses," &c. It may be doubted however, though the image in that passage is drawn from the foot-race, whether by the witnesses are meant exactly the spectators. Μάρτυρες is the word employed. And μάρτυς does not present precisely the same idea as θεατής. Probably the μαρτύρων is to be connected with the ἐμαρτυρήθησαν, ἐμαρτυρήθη, μεμαρτύρηται, μαρτυρηθέντες, of the previous chapter. (See ch. xi. 2, 4, 5, 39.)

R in red ink. *R*em fratres vobis referam. quam fideli narratione didici. Grecorum erat quedam civitas. qua christiani et iudæi confusi commorabantur. Inde familiaritas. et communia commercia. Idem sermo. set religio diversa. Discebant iudæorum liberi christianas litteras. et veritatis succus teneris iudæorum mentibus paulatim infundebatur. Unde contigit. ut die sancto paschæ puer ebreus inter collegas et coevos suos ad altare accederet. et sacram communionem acciperet. Peractis sacræ solennitatis officiis puer ebreus domum rediit. et puerili simplicitate quod de christiana ara sacram accepisset porcionem matri revelavit. Tunc mater femineo furore commota. maritum adiit. factum retulit. patremque parvuli in amentiam et crudelitatem exasperavit. Hinc nefandissimus pater cli-
f. 219. banum* succendit. et in ejus prunas et sevientes flammas filium suum introrsus projecit. atque os clibani lapidibus et cemento insaniens obturavit. Commota sunt viscera matris. et morienti pignori condoluit. furens exclamavit. ad christianos cucurrit. et illius tragedie crudelitatem merentium auribus denudavit. Convolant Christiani. et dicto cicius os clibani confringunt. et quem combustum interius credebant. puerum viventem extrahunt et incolumem. Mirantur et exultant. et divinæ præsentie dignas referunt gratias. Sciscitantur puerum quomodo evasisset et cujus protectione flammas

[d] The narrative in Daniel (ch. iii.) of the three holy children preserved alive in Nebuchadnezzar's burning fiery furnace struck the key-note of several legends. In the Gospel of the Infancy there is a tale of a youth called Kaljufus, whose mother left him by the oven, when about to bake bread, and went out in quest of meal. A rival wife coming in, full of

I will relate to you a circumstance, brethren, which I learned from a faithful report. There was a certain city of the Greeks in which Christians and Jews dwelt mingled with one another. Thence sprang familiarity and common dealings. The language of both was the same, while their religion differed. The children of the Jews were taught the learning of the Christians, and thus the sap of truth was by degrees distilled into the tender minds of the Jews, whence it came to pass that on the holy Day of Easter, a Hebrew boy among his fellows and those of his own age approached to the Altar and received the Holy Communion. When the rites of the sacred solemnity had been performed, the Hebrew boy returned home and with childish simplicity disclosed to his mother that he had received a sacred portion from the Christian Altar. Then the mother stirred with a woman's fury went to her husband, declared to him what had passed, and kindled in the father of the child madness and cruelty. Whereupon this most unnatural father heated a furnace, and threw his son into the midst of it, into the live coals and raging flames, and in his madness sealed up the mouth of the furnace with stones and cement. The mother's bowels of compassion were moved, and she yearned over her dying child; she cried out in her rage, ran to the Christians, and disclosed that cruel and horrible tale to the ears of mourning friends. The Christians fly to the furnace, and more quickly than it takes to say it, break open the mouth thereof, and drag out the boy alive and safe[d] whom they had supposed to have been burned within. They wonder and rejoice and render due thanks to the Divine Presence. They ask the boy how he had escaped, and by whose protection he had overcome the

jealousy and vexation, shut up the lad in the oven. His mother on her return found him smiling and with the embers of the oven all chilled. She had put him under the protection of the Virgin, by wrapping him in a coat made of some materials which the Virgin had furnished to her. See this singular tale in the *Codex Apocr. of Fabricius* (vol. i. p. 190, Evangelium Infantiæ, ch. xxix.)

incendii superasset. Quibus ille. Domina inquit quæ super aram christianorum sedet. et paulus † quem fovet in sinu suo circumsteterunt me. et porrectis manibus suis? corpus meum vallaverunt. atque a flammis et prunis estuantibus defenderunt. adeo ut nulla incendia. set solius inpassibilitatis refrigeria et solatia sentirem. Ejus igitur fotu et protectione clibano egredior illesus. cujus super aram christianorum sanctissimum accepi corpus. Iusta super Iudeos de continenti processit ultio. et qui in verbum incarnatum credere noluerunt? omnes predicto in clibano pariter combusti sunt. Ecce fratres suos commilitones ubique tuetur Christus. et neminem permittit perire. quem præscivit et prædestinavit cœlestis regni consortem futurum. Vocat quos prædestinavit. prædestinat quos præscivit. et in præscientia Dei nullius perturbationis transmutatio fieri potest. Renascamur nato salvatori. et in novitate vitæ ambulantes neglectis posterioribus amplectamur anteriora. herentes christo. manentes in Christo. fruentes christo? Qui cum* patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum amen.

† Another much later hand interlines *parvulus.*

f. 219, col. 2.

flames of the furnace. To which he replied; The Lady who sitteth above the Altar of the Christians, and the Little One Whom she cherishes in her bosom, stood around me, and stretching forth their hands hedged my body round, and protected me from the flames and fiery coals, so that I felt no burning but only the refreshment and comfort of a frame which could take no harm. By His fostering care therefore I escape unharmed from the furnace, Whose most sacred Body I received at the Altar of the Christians. Forthwith there followed a most just vengeance on the heads of the Jews; and they who would not believe in the Incarnate Word were all alike burned in the aforesaid furnace. Behold, brethren, Christ everywhere protects His own fellow-soldiers, and suffers no one to perish whom He hath foreknown and predestinated to be a partaker of His Heavenly Kingdom. *He calls those whom He hath predestinated; He predestinates those whom He hath foreknown;* and in the foreknowledge of God no change or alteration can be made. Let us be born again unto our Saviour, Who was [as on this Day] born; *and walking in newness of life let us forget those things which are behind and reach forth unto those which are before,* cleaving to Christ, abiding in Christ, enjoying Christ, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, God for ever and ever. Amen.

Rom. viii. 29, 30.

See Rom. vi. 4, and Phil. iii. 13.

II.

SERMO

VENERABILIS HERBERTI EPISCOPI

IN EPIPHANIAM DOMINI.

"ad colacionem" in the margin in another hand, and in black ink. *M* in red ink.

*M*agnis sacramentis dilectissimi presentis diei solennitas honeratur[a] multis miraculorum choruscationibus insignitur. Epiphania vel theophania præsens solennitas appellatur[b] quia in ea nostri sal-

[a] *honeratur.* So in the MS. It is possible that it may be a mistake of the Scribe for *honoratur;* in which case, the translation would be "is *graced* by many mysteries." However, it seems more probable that an *h* should have been prefixed (as is the case in several other instances of words beginning with a vowel) than that one vowel should have been written for another. And moreover it seems as if the idea required were that of a Festival *full charged* with commemorations. The Epiphany is in the mysteries which it celebrates the richest of all the Christian Festivals, because it commemorates jointly the Adoration of Christ by the Magi, His Baptism by the Baptist, and His first Miracle. So Maximus Taurinensis, a writer of the beginning of the fifth century, quoted by Trench in "Sacred Latin Poetry" (p. 110); "In hâc celebritate *multiplici* nobis est festivitate lætandum. Ferunt enim hodie Christum Dominum nostrum vel stellâ duce à Gentibus adoratum: invitatum ad nuptias aquas in vinum vertisse: vel suscepto à Johanne baptismate consecrâsse fluenta Jordanis." (Hom. 23.) And so the Hymn, to which Trench appends this passage of Maximus as a note;

Tribus signis Deo dignis
Dies ista colitur;
Tria signa laude digna
Cœtus hic persequitur.

In Serm. iv. f. 223 b. we have exactly the same form of the verb *onero.* "*Honeratis* argento et auro et gemmis et pannis membra vestra."

[b] See the note on the word *Sacramentum* in the previous Sermon, note x. iv. (1.)

[c] There was another name, *Bethphany*, as will be seen by the following interesting extract from Blunt's Annotated Book of Common Prayer; (Part i. pp. 83, 84.)

"In its earliest origin, the Epiphany was observed as a phase of Christmas in the same way as the Circumcision is now to be so regarded: and the

II.

A SERMON

OF

THE VENERABLE BISHOP HERBERT,

ON THE EPIPHANY OF OUR LORD.

TO-DAY'S festival, dearly beloved brethren, is laden [a] with many mysteries [b], is marked by the bright shining of many miracles. The present Festival bears the name of Epiphany or Theophany [c], because in it the Godhead

intimate association of the two is still marked by the custom of the Armenian Christians, who always keep their Christmas on the 6th of January, instead of the 25th of December. The idea on which the whole cycle of the Festivals of our Lord is founded is that of memorializing before God the successive leading points of our Lord's life and acts: and the order in which the Holy Days have been observed is also that in which these leading points are pleaded in two clauses of the Litany:—'By the mystery of Thy holy Incarnation; by Thy holy Nativity and Circumcision; by Thy Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation. By Thine Agony and bloody Sweat; by Thy Cross and Passion; by Thy precious Death and Burial; by Thy glorious Resurrection and Ascension; and by the coming of the Holy Ghost, Good Lord, deliver us.' Hence the Epiphany was originally regarded as that part of the Christmas Festival on which was commemorated the Baptism of the Lord Jesus by St. John the Baptist. It seems to have acquired a more independent position, and to have begun to be observed in memory of our Lord's Manifestation to the Gentile Magi, about the fourth century and in the Western Church; but probably this was never more than a development of the original idea; and although it may have become the most prominent feature of the Festival at particular periods, it never superseded the original one altogether. The primitive name of the day was Theophany, and this is still retained in the Oriental Church. Both *Theophania* and *Epiphania* are used in the Comes of St. Jerome, and as late as the Sacramentary of St. Gregory: but the former name seems to have dropped out of use about the same time that the Festival began to be connected with the Adoration of the Magi. Even St. Jerome himself calls it 'Epiphaniorum dies' in his Commentary on Ezekiel, and speaks of it as 'venerabilis.' Durandus says, that 'in codicibus antiquis hæc dies Epiphaniarum pluraliter intitulatur, et ideo tripliciter nominatur, scilicet Epiphania, Theophania, et Bethphania:' the third name being associated with our Lord's Manifestation *in the house* at the marriage in Cana. The latter name appears to have been little used, but the idea it represents is illus-

vatoris divinitas patentibus argumentis declaratur! et sui patris hactenus ignorata paternitas aperitur. Unde salvator ad patrem. Pater manifestavi nomen tuum mundo. Sciebant quidem iudæi deum. set ignorabant † nativitatem. Hodie dilectissimi fratres. stella duce magi ab oriente iudeam venerunt. ierusalem intraverunt. inimicum veritatis Herodem de ortu novi regis consuluerunt. Ubi est inquiunt qui natus est rex iudæorum? Vidimus stellam ejus in oriente. et venimus adorare eum. Turbatus Herodes tantis rumoribus. et ubi Christus propheticis vaticiniis. oriundus prædiceretur. diligenter a iudeis inquirit. In bethleem respondent iudei civitate David. Sic enim habemus per prophetiam. Et tu bethleem terra effrata nequaquam minima es in principibus iuda. ex te enim exiet dux. qui regat populum meum israel. Magis Herodes iudeorum refert responsum. et simulat adorandi religionem. qui totis visceribus armabatur

† Here are inserted in the margin the words "patrem. quia verbi divini ignorabant."

trated by the Gospel for the Second Sunday after Epiphany, and by the Second Lesson at Evensong on the Festival itself. In the Eastern Church the Theophany is also called *The Lights*, 'from the array,' Dr. Neale says, 'of torches and tapers with which the Benediction of the Waters is performed on this day, as they symbolize that spiritual illumination to which our Lord, by His Baptism in Jordan, consecrated water.' If this name of the Festival is ancient (and it seems to be as old as Gregory Nazianzen's time), one might expect to find that it originated in the illumination of the world by that 'true Light, which, coming into the world, enlighteneth every man,' and to which the Magi were led by the light of the Star."

Mr. Blunt goes on to point out the unity of thought pervading the different Scriptures, which are used in the Reformed Church of England on the Festival of the Epiphany. Perhaps we may be allowed to comment on the no less striking thread of unity which strings together the various *Gospels* of the Sundays which take their name from the Epiphany.

Gospel of the Festival itself. { Manifestation of Christ to the three Kings, the first-fruits of the Gentiles.

First Sunday after. Manifestation of our Lord in boyhood.

of our Saviour is shewn forth by evident proofs, and His Sonship to God the Father, which was not made known heretofore, is now revealed. Whence the Saviour saith to the Father, *Father, I have manifested Thy Name unto the world.* The Jews knew God indeed; but they knew not the Father, because they knew not the Nativity of the Divine Word. To-day, dearly beloved brethren, the wise men by the leading of a star came from the East unto Judæa. They entered Jerusalem, they consulted with Herod, the enemy of the truth, respecting the birth of the new King; *Where is He,* say they, *Who was born King of the Jews? We have seen His star in the East, and are come to worship Him.* By such grave rumours Herod is disquieted, and makes diligent enquiry of the Jews where Christ, according to the oracles of the Prophets, should be born. The Jews answer, *In Bethlehem, in the city of David. For so we find it in Prophecy; And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Ephrata art in no wise the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall arise a Governor Who shall rule My people Israel.* To the wise men Herod reports the answer of the Jews, and he who in his heart of hearts was arming himself for a crafty device, makes

St. John xvii. 6.

St. Matt. ii. 2.

St. Matt. ii. 5, 6.

Micah v. 2.

Second Sunday after.	First *miraculous* Manifestation at Cana. (This *Bethphany* is also the Second Lesson at Evensong on the Festival itself.)
Third Sunday after.	Manifestations by miraculous power over disease,—in one of which the *Gentile* centurion is specially interested.
Fourth Sunday after.	Manifestation by miraculous power over outward Nature, and over a legion of Devils.
Fifth Sunday after.	The Manifestation of the *Mystical* Christ, that is, of the Church, in which we no longer see unmixed good, but tares and wheat in the same harvest-field.
Sixth and Last Sunday after.	The *final* Manifestation, when the Son of Man shall come in the clouds of Heaven with power and great glory.

The rich fulness in which the one idea of the Manifestation of Christ is drawn out in these several passages, gives us a glimpse into the profound thought which underlies the arrangements of our Prayer-Book.

ad fraudem. Peragunt magi viam. et natum inveniunt salvatorem. Adorant infantem. quem rerum omnium confitentur creatorem. Offerunt thus. aurum. mirram. et munerum prolatione? suam manifestant intentionem. Divinitus admoniti non qua venerant ad herodem. set per aliam viam reversi sunt in regionem suam. Fœlices primitiæ gentium. quæ sine lege? exercent legem. et sine prophetis? inveniunt dominum prophetarum. Magnum sacramentum dilectissimi fratres. et quod
f. 219 b. * senex iacob. complendum novissimis diebus præclare prædixit. Non auferetur inquit sceptrum de iuda. et dux de femoribus ejus. donec veniat qui mittendus est et ipse erit expectatio gentium. Thure dominum. auro regem. mirra mortalem. nostrum salvatorem magi designant. et suorum exhibitione munerum christianæ fidei prædicant

[a] So in the *Sequentia de Tribus Regibus*, extracted by Trench from Corner's *Promptuarium*, we have the same mystical significance attached to two of the offerings, but to the third a different turn is given (Sacred Latin Poetry, p. 105);

Thuris odor Deitatem,
Auri splendor dignitatem
Regalis potentiæ:
Myrrha caro Verbo nupta,
Per quod manet incorrupta
Caro carens carie.

Adam de St. Victor (vol. ii. p. 341) comes nearer to Herbert; and insinuates that the significance of these gifts was taught to the Magi by inspiration:

Tria dona reges ferunt:
Stellâ duce regem quærunt,
Per quam certi semper erunt
De superno Lumine,
Auro Regem venerantes,
Thure Deum designantes,
Myrrhâ mortem memorantes,
Sacro docti Flamine.

pretence of devotion in going to worship. The wise men accomplish their journey, and find the Saviour Who had been born. They adore the Infant, Whom they confess to be the Creator of all things. They offer to Him frankincense, gold and myrrh, and by the bringing forth of their gifts manifest their intent. Being warned of God they returned into their own country, not by the way by which they had come to Herod, but by another way. Happy first-fruits of the Gentiles, who without the Law *do the things contained in the Law,* and without the Prophets find the Lord of the Prophets. A great mystery, well-beloved brethren, and one which the aged Jacob foretold in a glorious prophecy, as to be fulfilled in the latter days; *The Sceptre,* saith he, *shall not be removed from Judah, nor a Governor from his thighs, until He Who was to be sent shall come; and He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles.* By their frankincense the wise men declare our Saviour to be the Lord,—by their gold to be a King,—by their myrrh to be mortal[d]; and thus by the presenting of

See Rom. ii. 14.

Gen. xlix. 10.

St. Peter Damiani (quoted by Neale, Mediæval Preaching, pp. 55, 56) has this striking passage on the same subject;

"The wise men offered; let us also offer; for it is written, *I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God that ye offer your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service.* Let us also offer those three things of which the wise men made their oblations, yet after a different fashion from them. Let us offer the myrrh of mortification, by *mortifying our bodies which are upon earth,* by *taking no care to fulfil the desires of the flesh,* by *crucifying our bodies with their affections and lusts;* and yet in all these things, as is aforesaid, let our service be reasonable. Let us offer the incense of devout prayers, according to that saying of the Apostle, *I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also;* to the end that *my prayer may be set forth in Thy sight like the incense.* Let us offer also gold, the splendour of wisdom; for gold signifies wisdom, according to that saying, *A desirable treasure is in the mouth of the wise;* that we may be *prepared to give a reason to every one that demands it* of the faith and hope *that is in us,* and may shine with the brightness of wisdom, and may fearlessly contend against the darkness of heresy, and may be able to say, *The law of Thy mouth is dearer unto me than thousands of gold and silver.*"

It is curious to turn from the high mystical significations which these

integritatem. Adorato salvatore. non revertuntur ad herodem? set per aliam viam revertuntur in regionem suam. exemplum videlicet præbentes posteris. ut qui salutis ingrediuntur viam. nullatenus revertantur ad sathanan. Descendimus a patria nostra per inpietatem. per ignaviam. per suggestionum et delectationum superfluitatem. per passionum et actionum inpuritatem. revertamur ad patriam nostram per fidem. per caritatem. per prudentiam. temperantiam fortitudinem. iusticiam. et per spei soliditatem. Sacro in baptismate abrenunciavimus sathane? non revertamur ad sathanan. Conjurati sumus christo. maneamus in christo. Offeramus ei sinceram devotionem. morum sapientiam. cunctorumque vitiorum consummatam mortificationem. Reges tharsis et insule munera offerunt. reges arabum et saba dona adducunt. Set ii illuminantur sideribus. et qui spiritualia nesciunt. corporalibus adducuntur signis. Nobis lex. nobis hystorie. nobis sancti loquntur (*sic*) prophete. nobis prædicant apostoli et evangeliste. et qui idolatriæ inquinamentis abrenunciavimus. sacrarum lectionum cotidiano fulgore illuminamur. Reges gentium venerunt ad creatorem infantem. in spelunca vagientem. et nos christi (*sic*) ad eundem dominum veniamus loquentem super astra regnantem. omnem carnalem. altitudinem captivantem. et tocius mundi potestates suis dicionibus
f. 219 b, col. 2. subicientem. Nato* salvatori magi offerunt thus. nos lacrimas. offerunt aurum. nos mores. offerunt

famous gifts have been made to bear, to the (supposed) practical uses of them,—uses of the homeliest kind;

their gifts they preach the whole Christian Faith. Having done worship to the Saviour, they do not go back to Herod, but return into their own country another way, leaving hereby an example to all who should come after, that they who enter upon the way of salvation should in no wise return unto Satan. We have left our country by ungodliness, by sloth, by superfluity of evil motions and delights, by the uncleanness of our passions and actions. Return we to our country by the way of faith, by the way of love, by the way of discretion, temperance, patient endurance, justice, and by the stedfastness of our hope. In Holy Baptism we renounced the devil; let us not return to the devil. We are bound under an oath to Christ; let us abide in Christ. Let us offer to Him sincere devotion, wisdom in our walk, and a thorough mortification of all vices. *The kings of Tharsis and the isles offer gifts, the kings of the Arabs and Saba bring presents.* Ps. lxxii. 10. But they are enlightened by stars; and being ignorant of spiritual things are led by outward signs. To us the Law, to us the sacred histories, to us the holy Prophets speak, to us the Apostles and evangelists preach; and having renounced the pollutions of idolatry we are enlightened by the daily shining of holy lessons. The kings of the Gentiles came to their Creator as an Infant wailing in a cave. Let us Christians come to the same Lord, now reigning above the stars, Who speaketh to us, and bringeth into captivity every high thing of the flesh, and subjecteth to His dominion all the powers of the world. The wise men offer to the new-born Saviour frankincense; let us offer tears. They offer gold; let us offer a good life. They offer myrrh;

"Gold, to help the poverty of the Holy Family; the Incense, to remedy the noisome air of the Stable; the Myrrh was used, it is said, to give strength and firmness to the body of the new-born Infant." (Suicer, as quoted in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Note on Art. MAGI. But after examination of Suicer, we cannot verify the reference.)

mirram. nos omnium nostrarum libidinum offeramus mortificationem. Mirra carnis temporalem conservat incorruptionem. penitentia anime mentem reformat eternam in inpassibilitatem. Magos cœleste sidus perduxit ad præsepe salvatoris. nos baptismus. et eucaristia. et confirmatio sancti spiritus. tria videlicet præcipua sacramenta[e] custodiunt in cognitione adepte veritatis. Tres fuerunt qui ad salvatorem venerunt. ut intelligas de tribus mundi partibus præscitos. prædestinatos. vocatos. suos fideles collecturum Christum. Impletur ecclesia concurrentis pluralitate turbæ. set novit dominus qui sunt ejus. Et homo faciem. deus autem intuetur cor. Preparate corda vestra sacris seminibus. et super infundendum piæ prædicationis imbrem vestris colligite pectoribus. Hodie dilectissimi fratres mediator dei et hominum homo Christus ihesus venit ad bapmum (*sic*) Iohannis babtizatus est aquis iordanicis. qui nullum noverat peccatum de primo parente nullam contraxerat culpam. originali culpæ nullam addiderat propriam. Baptizatur aquis. aquis bapzandi (*sic*) infundens effectum. Baptizatur baptismate servi. ne tu de-

[e] Observe that Confirmation is ranked with Baptism and the Eucharist as one of the three *principal* Sacraments.

According to the Roman Church, Confirmation is one of the three rites (the others being Baptism and Ordination) by which an indelible character is impressed on the soul. "If any one shall say that in the three Sacraments, Baptism to wit, Confirmation, and Orders, no character is impressed on the soul, that is to say, no spiritual and indelible mark, the effect of which is that these Sacraments cannot be repeated; let him be accursed." (Session VII. of the Council of Trent, Canon IX. p. 80.)

But putting aside the Roman doctrine on the subject, Holy Scripture itself attaches great importance to Confirmation, in placing it side by side with Baptism as "a first principle of the doctrine of Christ." Heb. vi. 1, 2. Confirmation may be regarded as the solemn consecration of the baptized

let us offer the mortification of all our lusts. Myrrh it is which preserves from corruption things outward and temporal; penitence of the inner man renews the mind unto an eternal incorruption. A heavenly star guided the wise men to the manger cradle of their Saviour; we are kept in the acknowledgement of the truth, whereunto we have already attained, by Baptism, and the Eucharist, and Confirmation[e] with the Holy Ghost, that is to say by our three chief Sacraments[f]. The wise men who came to our Saviour were three[g], to the end ye may understand that Christ will gather together His faithful ones, foreknown, predestinated, and called, from the three parts of the world. Yes! the Church is indeed filled with the thronging multitude who run to her bosom; but *the Lord knoweth those who are His*, and while *man looketh on the outward appearance, God looketh on the heart.* Prepare ye your hearts to receive the sacred seeds [of Truth], and drink in with your minds the shower of the Divine discourse now to be poured upon them. To-day, well-beloved brethren, the Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus, came to the Baptism of John, and was baptized of him in the waters of Jordan, though He knew no sin, though from our first parents He had inherited no guilt, though to the first sin [of man] He had never added any of His own. He is baptized in the waters, enduing the waters by that action with the power of baptizing. He is baptized with the Baptism of a servant[h]; disdain not

2 Tim. ii. 19. 1 Sam. xvi. 7.

to the royal priesthood (1 Pet. ii. 5); whence the outward visible sign is the same as that used in Ordination—Laying on of Hands.

[f] See the note on *Sacramentum* in Sermon I., p. 21.

[g] "The number of the wise men, which St. Matthew leaves altogether undefined, was arbitrarily fixed. They were three (Leo Mag., Serm. ad Epiph.) because thus they became a symbol of the mysterious Trinity (Hilary of Arles), or because then the number corresponded to the threefold gifts, or to *the three parts of the earth*, or to the three great divisions of the human race descended from the sons of Noah (Bede, de Collectaneis)." Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Art. MAGI.

[h] Meaning St. John the Baptist. Lightfoot commenting on the words of the Baptist, in John i. 27, "whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to un-

digneris baptizari tui baptismate domini. Humiliatur dominus ante servum. inmortalis ante mortalem. inperator ante militem plasmator ante suum plasma. Noveras iohannes virum istum. et vera prædicaveras de viro isto. Ecce inquiens agnus dei. ecce qui tollit peccata mundi. Hic est de quo dicebam vobis. qui post me venit ante me factus est? f. 220. cujus non sum dignus solvere corrigiam calciamentorum ejus. Et infra. Qui de terra est de terra loquitur. qui de celo venit super omnes est? et nos cognovimus et profitemur quia hic est filius Dei. Merito igitur iohannes exhorres. merito refugis. merito exclamas. merito contradicis. Ego debeo a te baptizari. et tu venis ad me? Cui dominus. Sine modo. Sic enim oportet nos adimplere omnem iusticiam. Quomodo clementissime ihesu adimplebis omnem iusticiam? Ablutione culpæ. an humiliatione maiestatis tuæ? Plane humiliatione maiestatis tuæ. et nostrorum peccatorum ablutione adimpleturus es omnem iusticiam. Habemus penitentiam ante baptismum. de qua legitur. Penitentiam agite et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine domini nostri ihesu Christi. Habemus penitentiam cotidianam. iuxta illud dominicæ orationis. et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Habemus canonicam pœnitentiam. quæ autonomasice (*sic*) sola

loose," quotes from a Rabbinical authority the following; "What is the mark of a slave? He bindeth and looseth his lord's shoe latchet; and when his lord goeth to the bath, followeth him and carrieth his bathing things." (Lightfoot, tom. ii. p. 10. b.) That the removal and cleaning of the shoes was a *servile* duty is seen from Ps. lx. 8, "Moab is my washpot; over Edom will I cast out my shoe." "There is a connexion between the two figures. Moab is the vessel in which he washes his

thou to be baptized with the Baptism of thy Lord. The Lord humbles Himself before a servant, the Immortal one before a mortal, the Captain before a soldier, the Creator before His creature. Thou knewest that Man, O John, and true were the things which thou hadst proclaimed of that Man, saying, *Behold the Lamb of God; behold Him Who taketh away the sins of the world. This is He of Whom I spake unto you, Who cometh after me, but is preferred before me, Whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose.* And further on; *He who is of the earth speaketh of the earth; He Who cometh from Heaven is above all; And we have known and confessed that this is the Son of God.* Well, therefore, O John, dost thou tremble; well dost thou draw back; well dost thou cry out; well dost thou resist; *I ought to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?* To whom the Lord replies; *Suffer it to be so now; for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.* Most meek Jesu, how wilt Thou fulfil all righteousness? By the washing away of transgression? or by the condescension of Thy Majesty? Manifestly it is by the condescension of Thy Majesty, and by the washing away of our sins, that Thou art about to fulfil all righteousness. We hear of a penitence before Baptism, concerning which it is said; *Repent and be baptized every one of you in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ.* We read of a daily penitence, according to those words of the Lord's Prayer; *And forgive us our debts as we also forgive our debtors.* And we read of a canonical penitence, which alone is commonly[1] called

St. John i. 29, 30.

St. John i. 27.

St. John iii. 31.

St. John i. 34.

St. Matt. iii. 14, 15.

Acts ii. 38.

St. Matt. vi. 12.

feet; Edom the slave to whom he casts the shoe which he has just drawn off." Perowne, *in loco*, vol. i. p. 307.

[1] "quæ autonomasice sola pœnitentia dicitur." The MS. *clearly* has here *autonomasice*, which we print therefore, though we are not aware of the existence of such a word in Latin. In the Sermon on the Ascension we find the same word; but there it is doubtful whether the second letter is a *u* or an *n*. The passage is as follows; "'Predicate evangelium omni creaturæ.' Autonomasice" (or *antonomasice*) "omnis creatura nuncupatur homo, quoniam omnem creaturam excellit homo, et propter hominem omnis creata est creatura." We take the true reading in both passages to be

pœnitentia dicitur. De qua scribit apostolus. Tradatur hujusmodi sathanæ in interitum carnis. ut spiritus salvus fiat in die domini. His igitur pœnitentiis justificamur. set si baptismate renati sumus. et si sacrum baptisma fide. moribus. et vita integrum conservavimus. Baptizato mundi salvatore. aperti sunt cœli. et unius deitatis trium personarum occulta sacramenta revelata sunt. Spiritus quippe sanctus corporali specie sicut columba

Antonomasice, i.e. by the rhetorical figure *Antonomasia*, according to which an epithet, patronymic, or appellative is put for a proper name, as *eversor Carthaginis* for Scipio. And we find a great resemblance in its use in both passages. In the last of them the meaning is this, "*Every creature* here stands for *Man*, Man being the most excellent of all creatures, and the other creatures having been created for man's sake." In the passage before us the sense seems to be; "The ecclesiastical penitence goes commonly under the name of Penitence, and though in fact only one species of Penitence, has attracted to itself exclusively the name." In the first case, the *species* (homo) is called by a word properly denoting the *genus* (creatura); in the latter, the canonical penitence (which is only one species) is called (par excellence) by the generic name *pœnitentia*. To the penitence before Baptism (that evinced in the conversion of a heathen), and to its distinction from daily penitence for daily shortcomings and sins, our Lord makes allusion in those words of St. John's Gospel, which often perplex a reader of the English Translation (c. xiii. 10); "He that is washed" (λελουμένος, bathed in the Laver of Regeneration after a profession of penitence and faith) "needeth not save to wash" (νίπτειν) "his feet," (i.e. needeth only by a "daily penitence" and recurrence to the Fountain of Christ's Blood, to purge away the defilements incidental to every one's walk through life) "but is clean every whit."

By "canonical penitence" Herbert means the penance inflicted upon, and submitted to by, Christians of the early Church who had been guilty of grave and scandalous offences. Bingham gives three grades of these Church censures—1st, simple admonition and reprimand. 2nd, Exclusion from the Eucharist (though not from Psalmody, Scripture Reading, Sermons, and the prayers of the Catechumens), which was called the lesser Excommunication. 3rdly, Exclusion from all Church Offices, which was called the greater Excommunication, and which involved a cessation of all intercourse between the excommunicated person and other Christians. For which cessation of intercourse four reasons are assigned, 1st, the shaming of the sinner into a better mind; 2nd, as a warning to others; 3rd, that the Church might not be implicated in the consequences of sins committed by some of her members; 4th, that she might escape from moral and spiritual contagion. (Antiquities, book xvi. chap. ii. sec. 6, 7, 8, 12.)

by the name of penitence. Of which the Apostle writes; *Let such an one be delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord.* By these penitences then we are justified, if only we have been regenerated by Baptism, and have kept Holy Baptism spotless in respect of faith, manners, and life. The Saviour of the world having been baptized, the Heavens were opened, and the hidden mysteries[k] of the Three Persons in the One Godhead were revealed. For the Holy Ghost in bodily form like

1 Cor. v. 5.

Some writers, ancient and modern, hold with Herbert that the expression (in 1 Cor. v. 5) "delivering unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh," imports nothing more than excommunication and the *spiritual* effects consequent upon it. Bingham mentions Balsamon, Zonaras, Estius, and Bp. Beveridge as of this opinion. And so Dean Hook, in his Church Dictionary (*Art.* Penance), quoting apparently from Coleman; "By this sentence" (on the incestuous Corinthian) "the offender was separated from the people of the Lord, with whom he had been joined by Baptism, and was reduced to his former condition as a heathen man, subject to the power of Satan and evil spirits. This is perhaps the true import of delivering such an one up to Satan." If this view be adopted, "the destruction of the flesh" must mean "the destruction by repentance of the sinner's lust and pride." (Alford, *in loc.*) But Bingham seems to shew by many instances that the early Fathers maintained a contrary opinion, and held that the power of delivering offenders to Satan was miraculous and limited to the Apostles. "It being the general sense of the ancients, both Greek and Latin, that this was an extraordinary apostolical power, distinct from the ordinary power of excommunication; we do not find that they ordinarily make use of this phrase *delivering unto Satan* in any of their forms of excommunication; as being sensible that the Church, after the power of miracles was ceased, had no pretence to the power of inflicting bodily diseases, as the Apostles had, upon excommunicate persons by the ministry of Satan." (Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. ii. p. 897 a.) Lightfoot takes the same view of the "delivery to Satan," maintaining it to be a strictly miraculous power, conferred on the Apostles by the words, "Whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." These words he thinks conferred a positive twofold power, 1st, that of punishing offenders with death, or bodily judgments, which was exercised in the case of Ananias and Sapphira and of Elymas; 2nd, that of "delivering to Satan." He seems to think that this was an actual making over of the culprit to demoniacal possession. (tom. ii. p. 679.)

Our English language is more fortunate than the Latin in having two words connected with this subject, Repentance (or Penitence) for the change of mind wrought by "godly sorrow," Penance for the outward show and profession of that change of mind.

[k] See the note on *Sacramentum* in Sermon I., p. 21.

descendit in salvatorem. et vox patris audita est hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi bene complacui. ipsum audite. Attendite dilectissimi fratres vestre fidei sacramentum. et contemplamini propalatum. Ecce habemus in voce patrem. in homine verbum. in columba spiritum sanctum. Est quidem patris et filii et spiritus sancti una essentia. set personarum discreta distinctio. Vox illa temporalis. columba temporalis fuit. set homo unitus verbo. æternaliter permansurus est cum verbo. Quid est fratres. quod in baptizatum dominum spiritus sanctus descendit. quasi antea in ipso infuisset (*sic*)? Iam enim salvator a nativitate usque ad baptismum. xxx[ta]. annos exegerat. et credendus est sine suo spiritu fuisse? Absit. Ex quo enim anima Christi facta est? ex eo verbo dei unita est. et totam sancti spiritus accepit plenitudinem. Unde ysaias. egredietur virga de radice Iesse? et flos de radice ejus ascendet. et requiescet super eum

fol. 220, col. 2.

[1] This is a position which several of the early heretics denied. Cerinthus held that "the man Jesus was a Jew, the son of Joseph and Mary by ordinary generation, but distinguished for his wisdom and piety, and hence selected to be the Messiah. When he was baptized by John in Jordan, the Christ, or Logos, or *Holy Spirit* descended from heaven in form of a dove and entered into his soul. Then did he first become conscious of his future destination, and receive all necessary qualifications to enable him to discharge its functions." (Smith's Dictionary of Biography, Art. CERINTHUS.)

[m] We place side by side in parallel columns the Septuagint and Vulgate versions of this remarkable text, with the English translation of Bishop Lowth, and our own Authorised Version.

Isaiah xi. 1, 2, 3.

LXX.	VULG.	AUTH. VERS.	BP. LOWTH.
Καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος	Et egredietur virga	And there shall come forth a rod	But there shall spring forth a rod
ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης Ἰεσσαί,	de radice Jesse,	out of the stem of Jesse,	from the trunk of Jesse;
καὶ ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης ἀναβήσεται,	et flos de radice ejus ascendet.	and a Branch shall grow out of his roots:	and a scion from his roots shall become fruitful:

a dove descended on the Saviour, and the voice of the Father was heard; *This is My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased: hear ye Him.* Give heed, dearly beloved brethren, to this mystery of your faith, and contemplate it now it hath been published abroad. Behold we have in the Voice the Father, in the Man the Word, in the Dove the Holy Ghost. The Substance indeed of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost is all one; but there is a marked distinction between the Persons. The voice was but for a season, the dove was but for a season; but the Man united to the Word is to abide eternally together with the Word. How is it, brethren, that the Holy Ghost descended on our Lord at His Baptism, as if He had not been in Him afore time? For the Saviour had already completed thirty years from His Nativity to His Baptism; and is it to be supposed that during all that time He had been without His own Spirit? God forbid. For from the moment in which the Soul of Christ was created, it was united to the Word of God[l], and received all the fulness of the Holy Ghost. Whence Isaiah saith; *There shall come forth a rod from the root of Jesse*[m], *and a blossom shall spring out from his root;*

St. Matt. iii. 17. St. Matt. xvii. 5.

Isa. xi. 1, 2.

LXX.	VULG.	AUTH. VERS.	BP. LOWTH.
καὶ ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ,	Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini:	And the spirit of the LORD shall rest upon him,	and the Spirit of JEHOVAH shall rest upon him;
πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως,	spiritus sapientiæ, et intellectûs,	the spirit of wisdom and understanding,	the Spirit of wisdom, and understanding;
πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ ἰσχύος,	spiritus consilii, et fortitudinis,	the spirit of counsel and might,	the Spirit of counsel, and strength;
πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας.	spiritus scientiæ, et pietatis,	the spirit of knowledge, and of the fear of the LORD;	the Spirit of the knowledge, and the fear of JEHOVAH.
Ἐμπλήσει αὐτὸν, πνεῦμα φόβου Θεοῦ·	et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini:	And shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the LORD.	And he shall be of quick discernment in the fear of JEHOVAH.

spiritus domini. spiritus sapientie et intellectus. spiritus consilii et fortitudinis. spiritus scientiæ et pietatis. et adimplebit eum spiritus timoris domini. Non enim ut in nos? ita in dominum spiritus sanctus venit. et abiit. set semel in eum veniens. in eo inmobiliter permansit. Verumptamen præfatæ descensione columbæ sanctæ ecclesiæ designavit habitum. in quam tunc vere spiritus sanctus descendit. cum in Christi baptismate suorum pec-

It will be observed that where our Authorised Version has "a branch," and Bp. Lowth's translation "a scion," the Septuagint and Vulgate have "a flower" (or blossom). The word in the original נֵצֶר, (nētser,) means a branch (small or great), a scion or sprout. Gesenius refers it to a root which has the two significations of *watching* or *guarding* (it appears in, "Set *a watch*, O Lord, over my mouth") and being *fresh and green*. He conjectures that the fundamental notion is that of *shining*. (Shining things attract the eye; and hence the idea of *observing*, *watching*.) It is noteworthy that, though the Messiah is no doubt intended by the Branch in this place of Isaiah, yet in other prophecies (whose application to Him is equally certain), those of Zech. iii. 8—vi. 12, and Jer. xxiii. 5—xxxiii. 15, the word used is (tsemakh) צֶמַח, from a root in which inheres the notion of germination or sprouting. Ainsworth on the Pentateuch (on Num. vi. 2) connects the word "Nazarene" as applied to our Lord by St. Matthew (St. Matt. ii. 23) with His being "the Branch (*Netser*) out of the roots of Jesse predicted by Isaiah."

The next point calling for remark is that the "rod" (ῥάβδος, virga) of the 1st clause is the same Person as the branch or scion (ἄνθος, flos) of the 2nd. It is an instance of what Bp. Lowth calls, in his Preliminary Dissertation to his new Translation of Isaiah (p. viii), Synonymous Parallelism, where the two lines express "the same sense in different but equivalent terms;"

> "And there shall come forth a Rod out of the stem of Jesse
> And a Branch shall grow out of his roots,"—

the "Branch out of the roots" is only a varied expression for the "Rod out of the stem."

But, though there is nothing in this passage of our Author to shew that he understood by the Rod any other than Christ, we are afraid that he, in common with other mediæval authors of that date, supposed the "Virga" of the first clause to be the Blessed Virgin, the "flower" (or blossom) of the second being her Divine Son. Indeed in the Sermon on the Assumption of the Virgin (f. 235) he applies to her the words of the Prophet, "a rod out of the stem of Jesse;" "Ascendebat autem de deserto præsentis sæculi virga de radice Jesse olim exorta." The kindred sound of Virg*a* and Virg*o* (words perhaps etymologically connected, as both possibly coming

and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon Him, the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and strength, the Spirit of knowledge and godliness, and the Spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill Him. For not as it is with us, so was it with the Lord, that the Holy Spirit came upon Him and departed; but coming upon Him once for all It abode in Him without removing. But by the descent of the Dove afore-said is indicated the accustomed order of the Holy Church, upon Whom the Holy Spirit then really descends[n], when in Christ's

from *vireo*) was only too much of a temptation to Mediæval Divines to make them think of the predicted *Virga* as being the *Virgo*. The *Virgo* was with them the *Virga* (or stem) which bare the blossom of our Lord's Humanity. Thus Peter the Venerable, elected Abbot of Clugny very shortly after Herbert's death (the shelterer of Abelard in his latter days, and his reconciler with St. Bernard), in his Hymn *De Nativitate* sings;

"Venter ille virginalis,
Dei cella specialis,
Fœcundatur Spiritu.
Et ut *virga parit florem*,
Sic et Virgo Redemptorem,
Carnis tectum habitu."

(Trench, Sacred Lat. Poetry, p. 97.)

Richard of St. Victor, who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century (dying in 1175), and whose theological school "aimed at uniting the scholastic and mystic tendencies, the light of Abelard with the warmth of Bernard" (Trench, S. L. P., p. 54), has an exquisitely beautiful tractate, "On the comparison of Christ to a Flower (ad florem), and of Mary to a stem (ad virgam)." While demurring to the translation of "Netser" by the word "Flower," we may yet accept this passage, describing Christ as a flower, as a great gem;

"Virgo Dei genitrix virga est, flos filius ejus.... O quam benè, quam rectè flos dicitur, qui ex virgâ virginali producitur!... Flos tenuis, ad indignationem; tener, ad miserationem; mansuetudine lenis; damnatione levis; pulcher per conversationem; fragrans per repromissionem; utilis per remunerationem. Est ergo tenuis in flagellis; tener in misericordiis; lenis in donis; levis in præceptis; pulcher in exemplis; fragrans in promissis; fructuosus in præmiis. Hic flos factus est nobis medicina: ex illo mel et cera; in ipso potus et esca. Medicina in redemptione; potus et esca in justificatione; mel et cera in glorificatione. Ex hâc medicinâ sanitas sempiternæ incorruptibilitatis. Ex ejus escâ refectio internæ satietatis. Ex ejusmodi potu ebrietas eternæ securitatis; de illius cerâ splendor summæ claritatis; in ejus melle dulcor indeficientis felicitatis." (*Pars Prima*, p. 399, b.)

[n] But over and above the lesson as to "the order of the Holy Church,"

catorum remissionem accipit. Nullum igitur involucrum. nullum integumentum relinquitur. in patre. in filio. et in spiritu sancto pariter omnes baptizamur. Unde dominus ad apostolos. Ite inquit in orbem universum. et docete omnes gentes. baptizantes eos in nomine patris. et filii et spiritus sancti. Agnoscite fratres ingenuitatem vestram. et facti coheredes christi. vestræ hereditatis defendite dignitatem. Baptizatus est dominus baptismate Iohannis. set ibidem nullum peccatum reliquit. quia nullum attulit. Vos mortis dominice

there was a meaning as regards the Saviour Himself in the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Him at His Baptism. It was His solemn official consecration to His office, corresponding to the anointing and coronation of a Sovereign, which (as South somewhere shows) does not *make*, but formally *declares* him king.

On the relation borne by the Baptismal Unction to the anointing of our Lord in the moment of His conception by the Virgin we quote Bp. Pearson;

"Though there can be no question but the Spirit is the oil (of gladness), yet there is some doubt when Jesus was anointed with it. For we know the Angel said unto the Blessed Virgin, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.* From whence it appeareth that from the conception or at the Incarnation, Jesus was sanctified by the Holy Ghost and the Power of the Highest, and so consequently, as St. Peter spake, *He was anointed* then *with the Holy Ghost and with power.* Again, being we read that after He was thirty years of age the Spirit *like a dove descended and lighted upon Him*, and He, descending *in the power of the Spirit into Galilee*, said unto them of Nazareth, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears*, meaning that of Isaiah, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel;* hence hath it been also collected, that His unction was performed at His Baptism. Nor need we to contend which of these two was the true time of our Saviour's unction, since neither is destructive of the other, and consequently both may well consist together. David, the most undoubted type of the Messias, was anointed at Bethlehem; for there *Samuel took the horn of oil, and anointed him in the midst of his brethren: and the Spirit of the Lord came upon David, from that day forward.* Of which unction those words of God must necessarily be understood, *I have found David My servant; with My holy oil have I anointed him.* And yet he was again anointed at Hebron; first, *over the house of Judah*, then over *all the tribes of Israel.* As therefore David at his first unction received the Spirit of God, and a full

Baptism she receiveth the remission of the sins of her members. No covering then, no vail [of mystery] is left. In the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost we are all alike baptized. Whence saith the Lord to His Apostles; *Go ye into all the world, and teach all nations, baptizing them in*° *the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.* Acknowledge, brethren, the nobleness of your birth, and as ye are made *joint-heirs with Christ,* maintain the dignity of your inheritance. The Lord was baptized with the baptism of John; but He left no sin there, because He brought none. Ye

St. Matt. xxviii. 19. St. Mark xvi. 15.

See Rom. viii. 17.

right unto the throne of Israel, which yet he was not to exercise till the death of Saul and acceptation of the tribes; and therefore when the time was come that he should actually enter upon his regal office, he was again anointed: so our Jesus, the Son of David, was first sanctified and anointed with the Holy Ghost at His conception, and thereby received a right unto, and was prepared for, all those offices which belonged to the Redeemer of the world; but when He was to enter upon the actual and full performance of all those functions which belonged to Him, then doth the same Spirit, which had sanctified Him at His conception, visibly descend upon Him at His inauguration. And that most properly upon His Baptism, because, according to the custom of those ancient nations, washing was wont to precede their unctions: wherefore *Jesus, when He was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto Him, and He saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove:* as David sent Solomon to be anointed at Gihon: from whence arose that ancient observation of the Rabbins, *that kings were not to be anointed but by a fountain.*" (On the Creed, vol. i. pp. 178—180, &c.)

° We have translated "*in* the Name," because the Vulgate, from which Herbert quotes, has "baptizantes eos *in Nomine.*" But the Vulgate, like our own English Translation, and like Luther's "im Namen," is here inaccurate. The original has βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς ΕΙΣ τὸ Ὄνομα (baptizing them INTO the Name). So πάντες ΕΙΣ τὸν Μωσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο (1 Cor. x. 2), "they all had themselves baptized INTO Moses." And Gal. iii. 27, Ὅσοι ΕΙΣ Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε, "As many of you as were baptized INTO Christ, (then) put on Christ." And again (Rom. vi. 3), Ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν ΕΙΣ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν, "As many of us as were baptized INTO Christ Jesus, were baptized into His death."

"To baptize *into*" means to "admit into by Baptism;" and in the phrase being "baptized into Christ," or "into the Name of the Holy Trinity," there are two ideas. 1. Admission to all the privileges and obligations of Christian Discipleship. 2. Admission into communion with Christ (or with the three Persons of the Trinity, in their *Name*, or revealed Character).

lavacro baptizamini. atque in eo et originalia et actualia peccata submergitis abluti sorde. pleni
fol. 220 b. veritate. et omnium peccatorum vestrorum remissione. Exultate igitur. et fideliter proclamate. Cantemus Domino. gloriose enim operatus est? equum et ascensorem projecit in mare. Tendite

[p] Compare Rom. vi. 3, 4, "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into His death? Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory" (*manifested power*) "of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life" (i.e. *a new state, of which the characteristic is life*). The explanations in Italics are Dr. Vaughan's, whose admirable paraphrase is this; "By Baptism we were united to Christ; and the point of union is His death. Our baptism was, like burial, a solemn act of consigning us to death: that, as Christ rose again from death, so should we, in this world, live as men who have already died and risen again." (Ep. to the Rom., with Notes, by C. J. Vaughan, p. 49.) Baptism administered by immersion (the correct and preferable, though not the indispensable, method) would symbolize to the outward eye that "burial into death" of which the Apostle here speaks; for in immersion the body sinks below the water, as a corpse into the earth (during which period animation is for the moment suspended), and is then lifted up again into the air, as a risen body is lifted up from the grave. "Buried with Him in Baptism, wherein also ye are risen with Him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised Him from the dead." (Col. ii. 12.)

For Herbert's expression "being baptized into the laver of the Lord's Death," compare also the "Christian Year" (Holy Baptism).

"Where is it mothers learn their love?—
In every Church a fountain springs
O'er which th' eternal Dove
Hovers on softest wings.

"What sparkles in that lucid flood
Is water, by gross mortals ey'd:
But seen by Faith, 'tis blood
Out of a dear Friend's side."

Several of the early Fathers recognised in the blood and water which flowed from our Lord's side after death, a symbol of the Baptismal Laver and also of the wine of the Eucharist. The Prayer of Consecration in our own Baptismal Office brings the water and blood from the side of the Crucified One into immediate connexion with the Baptismal Water. "Almighty, everliving God, whose most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of our sins, *did shed out of His most precious side both water* and blood; and gave commandment to His disciples that they should go teach all nations, &c., &c. . . . *Sanctify this water* to the mystical washing away of sin."

are baptized in the laver of the[p] Lord's Death, and therein ye drown your sins both original and actual[q]; ye are washed from pollution, and are filled with the truth and with remission of all your sins. Rejoice ye, therefore, and cry aloud in the spirit of faith; *Sing we unto the Lord, for He hath wrought gloriously; the horse and his rider hath He cast into the sea*[r]. Set your faces Exod. xv. 1.

Quesnel, in his comment on the incident of the blood and water at the Crucifixion, says very beautifully;

"La mort de Jésus, loin de nous le rendre inutile, commence a former son Eglise, à y établir dans l'eau du Batême une source de pureté et de sainteté, qui coulera toujours après sa mort, mais qui ne fait rien que par la vertu du sang du Sauveur." (On St. John xix. 35. Vol. iv. p. 430.)

[q] "Ye drown your sins, both original and actual." One can hardly suppose that Herbert, in speaking of the remission of actual sins in Baptism, had any instances of Adult Baptism present to his mind. For from what class of people in those days could candidates for Adult Baptism be drawn? The heathen, one would think, had long since "perished out of the land;" and there was not that redundant and excessive population, nor that indifference on the part of the masses to the external rites of Religion, which now so often combine to produce neglect of the Sacrament of Regeneration in childhood. And the Petrobrussians, a sect of heretics so called from their leader Peter Bruis, one of whose doctrines was that "no persons whatever were to be baptized before they had come to the full use of their reason," had hardly broached their tenets long enough to have caused any general prevalence of them in this country. Mosheim gives A.D. 1110 as the date of the foundation of the sect, and 1130 as that of the death (by burning) of Peter Bruis. (See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 116; Wall's Infant Baptism, part ii. ch. vii. sec. 8, vol. ii. p. 273, &c., where a brief account of his life and character is given.)

Perhaps however Herbert merely added "actual" to assure his congregation that in virtue of the Lord's Death, which in their Baptism had been efficacious for the remission of *original* sin, their actual sins after Baptism were also remitted on their penitence and faith—so that the Baptismal waters are regarded by him (not as a pool, but) as a stream following us in our course through life, as the stream from the smitten rock followed Israel's wanderings in the wilderness. This view at all events establishes an interesting connexion between our constant forgiveness as adults, and the earliest application to us of Christ's Blood in Infancy.

For the connexion of the remission of sins, original and actual, with Baptism, compare, "Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the Name of the Lord," (Acts xxii. 16; as also Acts ii. 38; Eph. v. 25, 26).

[r] The application of this passage to the matter in hand will not appear fanciful, when it is remembered that St. Paul speaks of the passage through the Red Sea as having been a baptism of the Israelites unto Moses (1 Cor.

ad patriam. tendite ad vestram hereditatem. que fluit lacte et melle. Lacte videlicet immortalitatis et incorruptionis. et melle inpassibilitatis et adeptæ veritatis. Diversa sunt tempora. set dies unus. in quo dominus adoratur a magis. et baptizatur a Iohanne. et tipicarum domum nupciarum ingreditur. Hodie dilectissimi fratres dominus venit ad nuptias. sacris nupciis concessurus auctoritatem. Venit in Chana galileæ hoc est in cœlum transmi-

x. 1, 2), "All our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all *baptized* unto Moses in the cloud and *in the sea.*" And our Baptismal Office, in conformity with the teaching of several of the early Fathers, represents the passage through the Red Sea as having been a figure of Baptism; "Almighty and everlasting God, who .... didst safely lead the children of Israel Thy people through the Red Sea, *figuring thereby Thy holy Baptism.*" The cloud above and the sea below the Israelites were both (as Bengel observes, Gnomon N.T., on 1 Cor. x. 2, tom. ii. p. 136) of a watery nature; they were for a time hidden by the Cloud and the Sea (as the baptized are hidden under the wave), but eventually emerged on the opposite shore. They received their initiation into the religion of Moses on that occasion, just as by Baptism we are initiated into the religion of Christ. The Sea severed them from their enemies, just as the Power of the Sacrament of Baptism frees us from the thraldom of our *spiritual* foes. (See St. Basil, quoted by Wordsworth on 1 Cor. x. 2). And, finally, the passage under the Cloud and through the Sea introduced them to the Manna and the Smitten Rock, as Baptism is the beginning of that spiritual life, which is nourished in Holy Communion by the spiritual food of Christ's most precious Body and Blood. So that, "Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath He cast into the sea," might be not inappropriately used as a Baptismal triumph song.

[a] The MS. has distinctly "cœlum transmigrationis," which, in our desire to be faithful to it, we render "heaven of removing." But it is evident that the scribe made a blunder, and should have written "zelum transmigrationis," "ardent desire of removing." And it is not a little remarkable that in an Edition of Bede's works printed at Cologne in 1612, vol. v. col. 466, there is the same confusion between *cœlum* and *zelum* which we find in this passage of Herbert, *cœlum* being given as the interpretation of Cana, though *zelus* is used when the interpretation is to have a practical application given to it. The passage is doubtless that from which Herbert borrowed his idea. "Sed et hoc, quod in Canâ Galilææ, id est, in CŒLO transmigrationis perpetratæ, eædem nuptiæ factæ perhibentur, typicè denunciat, eos maximè gratiâ Christi dignos existere, qui ZELO fervere piæ devotionis, et æmulari charismata meliora, ac de vitiis ad virtutes pro-

to go unto your country; set them to your inheritance, which floweth with milk and honey. With the milk, to wit, of immortality and incorruption, and with the honey of freedom from suffering and of truth whereunto ye have attained.

There was a difference of times, but the day [of the year] was one and the same, in which the Lord was worshipped by the Wise Men, and baptized by John, and entered the house of the marriage, which was a figure [of the marriage Supper of the Lamb]. To-day, dearly-beloved brethren, the Lord came to a wedding, being about to give His authority to holy wedlock. He came to Cana of Galilee, that is to say, into the heaven[8]

gredi bona operando, de terrenis ad æterna nôrunt sperando et amando transmigrare." (In Evang. S. Joannis, caput ii.) The root קָנָא (ka-na') (in which there seems to be the idea of *glowing*) is used of Elijah's jealousy for the Lord God of hosts, of Saul's zeal to the children of Israel and Judah (displayed in his designs against the Gibeonites), and of Phinehas's zeal for God. The substantive קִנְאָה (kin-'āh) is used of Jehu's zeal for the Lord.

It is a little more difficult to extract the meaning "transmigration" from the Hebrew word for Galilee. Both Jerome in his Onomasticon, however, and Bede assign a similar meaning. Jer., Opp., tom. ii. p. 129, "*Galilæa*, deflexus, vel volutabilis, aut *transmigratio*." and again (p. 67), "*Galilæa*, volutabilis, aut *transmigratio* perpetrata, vel rota." And again (p. 199), Γαλιλαία, κατακυλιστή, ἢ μετοικία, ἢ ἀποκύλυψις.

And so Bede, from whom doubtless our Author borrowed the moral application which he gives to the term;

"The name of the place where the marriage was held, Cana of Galilee, which means, desire of *migrating*, has a typical signification, viz. that those are most worthy of Christ, who burn with devotional desires, and have known *the passage from vice to virtue, from earthly to eternal things.*" Bede, as quoted in the Catena Aurea of S. Thomas. Library of the Fathers, St. John, part i. p. 80.

But how shall we get the meaning "transmigratio" out of the Hebrew word for *Galilee?* Here we venture a conjecture. The word Galilee was perhaps connected with the root גָּלָה (Ga-lāh), in which the idea of removal, emigration, carrying into captivity, *does* inhere. (See Gesenius sub voce.) The true root, however, is גָּלַל (Gā-lal) (connected with the Greek κυλίω, κυλίνδω), in which the fundamental idea seems to be that of *rolling*, whence the name of Gilgal (see Joshua v. 9). גְּלִיל means anything rolling, a ring, circle, *surrounding district.* And, in conformity with this etymology, "the name Galilee was originally confined to a little 'circuit' of country round Kedesh-Naphtali, in which were situated the twenty towns

grationis. quum eos diligit dominus qui de libidine ad continentiam. de turpitudine ad virtutem. de passibilitate ad inpassibilitatem. de falsitate ad veritatem. et de sathana transeunt ad deum. Suam dominus non agnoscit matrem in faciendo miraculo. quam recogniturus erat in suæ passionis patibulo. Quid inquit dominus mihi et tibi est mulier? Nondum venit hora mea. Horam suam horam dicit passionis. quia potestatem habebat ponendi animam suam. et potestatem habebat resumendi eam. Inde sermo. Quod habeo de patre operatur miraculum. quod habeo de te passioni

given by Solomon to Hiram, king of Tyre, as payment for his work in conveying timber from Lebanon to Jerusalem" (1 Kings ix. 11). Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Art. GALILEE.

[t] How this passage, *as Herbert introduces it*, is connected with the subject, is not very obvious. Probably he is following Augustine (see succeeding note), who tells us in his Commentary on St. John, as quoted in the Catena Aurea, part i. p. 82, Library of the Fathers, that the astrologers asserted Christ to be under the power of Fate, because He says of His death-hour, "Mine hour is not yet come." "But let them believe what God says below, *I have power to lay My life down, and I have power to take it again:* and then let them ask, why He says, *Mine hour is not yet come:* nor let them on such a ground subject the Creator of Heaven to Fate; seeing that, even were there a fatality in the stars, the Maker of the stars could not be under the dominion of the stars. . . . Wherefore said He then, *Mine hour is not yet come?* Because He had the power to die when He pleased, but did not think it expedient yet to exert the power. He was to call the disciples, to proclaim the Kingdom of Heaven, to do marvellous works, to approve His Divinity by miracles, His humility by partaking of the sufferings of our mortal state. And when He had done all, then the hour was come, not of destiny, but of will, not of obligation, but of power."

[u] This is Augustine's interpretation of our Lord's words;

"Why then, saith the Son to His Mother, *Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come?* Our Lord Jesus Christ was both God and man. In regard that He was God, He had not a mother. In regard that He was Man, He had. She was the mother therefore of His flesh, mother of His human nature, mother of the weakness which He took upon Him for our sakes. But the miracle which He was about to work He was about to work according to His Divine Nature, not according to His weakness; in regard that He was God, not in regard that He was born weak.

of removing, since the Lord loves those who remove from the lusts of the flesh to continency, from vile affections to virtue, from passion to peace, from falsehood to truth, and from Satan to the Lord. His mother, whom He was about to acknowledge on the Cross of His Passion, He acknowledges not in doing this miracle. *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* saith the Lord, *mine hour is not yet come.* The hour of His Passion He calleth *His* hour, because He had the power[t] of laying down His life, and He had the power of taking it again. Thence He as much as says; "It is what I have from the Father which works the miracle; what I have[u]

St. John ii. 4.

See St. John x. 18.

But the weakness of God is stronger than men (1 Cor. i. 25). His mother was then requiring of Him a miracle. But He, as it were, does not acknowledge a human womb, when about to work Divine works: saying, as it were, 'Thou gavest not birth to that part of Me which works a miracle; thou gavest not birth to my Divine Nature: but forasmuch as thou didst give birth to My weakness, I will recognise thee then, when that same weakness shall hang upon the Cross:' for this is the meaning of, *Mine hour is not yet come.*" (Aug. Homilies on St. John, Hom. viii., Lib. of Fathers, vol. i. 131, 132.)

On the following page (p. 133) is an interesting note;

"The Greek interpreters generally take *the hour* here to mean the proper time for beginning the miracle. '*Mine hour is not yet come:* i.e. I am not yet known: nay, they are not even aware that wine is wanting. Let them be first sensible of this. I ought not to have been told it from thee; thou art My mother, and renderest the miracle suspicious. They who wanted the wine should have come and besought Me, not that I need this, but that they might with an entire assent accept the miracle.'" (St. Chrys. Hom. in loc.)

Of modern commentators, Dean Alford thinks that the hour in question must be "the appointed time of His Self-manifestation by miracles."

Abp. Trench (following herein a doubtful Sermon of St. Augustine) supposes the hour to be the exact moment at which the wine should be exhausted. "Then will be the time to act, when by its complete failure, manifest to all, the miracle will be above suspicion; otherwise, in Augustine's words, He might seem rather to mingle elements than to change them. When all other help fails, then and not till then has Christ's hour arrived." (Miracles, p. 102.)

Stier makes the correction of the Virgin's erroneous views of her Son's Kingdom the key to his interpretation; and as these views were to some extent secular and earthly, he understands by "My hour" "the hour of My established Kingdom," and consummated Glory, when the fruit of the vine shall be drunk new at the Marriage Supper of the Lamb. (Words of Jesus, vol. i. p. 65.)

succumbit. Verumptamen mater exclusa? voluntate non diffidit. set tantum de filii mansuetudine confidens. jubet ministris quecumque dixerit vobis servate et facite. Precipit dominus. vi. idrias inpleri aqua. vino deficiente in nupciis. Precipit hauriri et deferri convivis. et invenitur vinum optimum quod antea fuerat elementum. Mutatur liquor et admittit austeritatem. et qui prius fuerat insaporus nupciarum convivis efficitur iocundissi-
f. 220 b, col. 2. mus. Magnum miraculum. set deus aderat.* cujus non erat inpossibilius mutare? quam suorum operum formare creaturas. vi. idrie. vi. significant etates. aqua de idriis scripturam de ætatibus significat. hystorialiter intellectum (*sic*). Set verbum Dei caro factum. vetus adinplevit testamentum. veteres reseravit scripturas convertit eas in vinum. transferens eas in allegoricum. et moralem intellectum. Inde sancti spiritualiter inebriati. carnalium actionum feces negligunt. spiritualibus inhiant. atque ad sui creatoris cognitionem gradibus intellectuum. certatim conscendunt. Egit dominus

* All this allegorising of the miracle in Cana is from Augustine;

"There was Prophecy in ancient times, and of the dispensation of Prophecy were no times left void. But that Prophecy, seeing that Christ was not understood in it, was water. For in water wine is in a sort latent. The Apostle teacheth what we are to understand by this water. *Even to this day*, saith he, *whilst Moses is read, the same vail is laid upon their heart, because it is not unveiled, that in Christ it is done away. And when*, saith he, *thou shalt have passed over to the Lord, the vail shall be taken away.* By the vail he means the covering over of prophecy, so that it might not be understood. The vail is taken away when thou hast passed over to the Lord: in like manner the insipidity is taken away when thou hast passed over to the Lord, and what before was water, now becomes wine to thee. Read all the prophetic books; if thou dost not discern Christ, what wilt thou find to match them for flatness and insipidity? Discern Christ in them, and what thou readest not only hath a taste, but also inebriates."

And again;

"It behoved those things to be fulfilled in Christ which were written

from thee is made subject to the Passion." The mother, however, though her will in the matter was excluded, does not distrust, but has such confidence in the graciousness of her Son that she bids the servants; *Observe and do whatsoever He shall say to you.* When the wine fails at the wedding, the Lord commands that the six waterpots should be filled with water. He commands that the liquor should be drawn out and presented to the guests; and that which was before the pure element [of water] is found to be the richest wine. The liquor is changed, and receives sharpness of taste, and that which before lacked savour now maketh glad the wedding-guests. A great miracle indeed; but the Lord was present, to Whom it was as possible to change as in the beginning to form, the creature of His hands. The six waterpots signify six ages [of the world]. The water from the waterpots signifieth the teaching of Holy Scripture concerning the ages, understood after the manner of history and in the letter. But the Word of God made flesh fulfilled the Old Testament, unsealed the old Scriptures, and turned them into wine[x], transferring them into an allegorical and moral meaning. Thence the Saints being spiritually filled with wine, reject the dregs of carnal actions, pant for spiritual things, and strive one with another in ascending by degrees of understanding to the knowledge of their Creator. The Lord Himself entered into wedlock at

St. John ii. 5.

concerning Him. Where were they written? *In the Law*, saith He, *and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms.* No part of the Old Scriptures hath He left out. This was water; and therefore were they called by the Lord *void of understanding*, because as yet it tasted to them as water, not wine. But how did He make wine of the water? When He opened their understanding, and expounded to them the Scriptures, beginning from Moses to all the Prophets. With which being now inebriated, they said, *Did not our hearts burn within us in the way, when He opened to us the Scriptures?* For they discerned Christ in those books, in which before they knew Him not. Our Lord Jesus Christ therefore hath changed the water into wine, and that hath taste which before was tasteless, that inebriates which before did not inebriate." (Aug. Homilies on St. John, Hom. ix. 3, 5. Lib. of Fathers, ST. JOHN, vol. i. pp. 139, 141.)

nuptias in utero virginis. cum divinæ naturæ humana natura personaliter inhesit. Inde egressus velut sponsus de thalamo suo. de sancta ecclesia nupcias facit. donans eam spiritu sancto et cibans corpore et potans cruore suo. De singulis dicerem etatibus. et quomodo carnalis scientia., in spiritualem convertatur intellectum aperirem set dies transit. et ecclesiastica officia peragenda sunt. Verumptamen compendiose præstringam. qua† sicut homo. ita et mundus suas habet ætates. Est enim prima ætas ab Adam usque ad noe. secunda

† This word seems to have originally stood as *quam*; and the final *m* to have been afterwards erased.

r "The Word was the Bridegroom, and the bride man's flesh: and both together One Son of God, who is also Son of Man. The womb of the Virgin Mary, the place where He was made Head of the Church, that womb, His bridechamber,. even thence came He forth as a Bridegroom from His chamber, as the Scripture foretold, coming forth as a Bridegroom *out of His chamber, He rejoiced as a giant to run on His way:* He came forth from the chamber as a Bridegroom, and having been invited came to the Marriage." . . . . . .

"What marvel that He should come to that house (at Cana) to a marriage, who came into this world to a marriage? For if He came not to a marriage, He hath not a bride here. And what is it the Apostle saith? *I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ.* . . . He hath therefore His bride here, whom He hath redeemed with His blood, and to whom, as pledged, He hath given the Holy Spirit. He hath rescued her from the bondage of the devil: hath died for her sins, hath risen again for her justification. Who shall present His Bride with offerings so great? Let human bridegrooms offer what you will of lands to furnish a bride's adornments, let them offer gold, silver, precious stones, horses, slaves, farms, estates: aye, but will any one offer His own Blood? For should a man give his own blood to his bride, he would not be alive to marry her. But the Lord dying without fear of the result, gave His Blood for her, whom rising again He was to have, whom He had already united to Himself in the Virgin's womb." (Aug. Hom. on St. John, Hom. viii. 4. Lib. of Fathers, ST. JOHN, vol. i. pp. 126, 127.)

With our modern habits of thought, to which allegorising is so foreign, we may sometimes have wondered why the 19th Psalm is appointed as the first of the Psalms for Christmas Day. There *is* no appropriateness in it, unless in the Sun coming forth as a Bridegroom out of his chamber and rejoicing as a giant to run his course, we see Christ the Sun of righteousness, Who arose on this benighted world with healing in His wings, in solemnising whose Marriage with the Church God the Father made a great

the moment of His conception, when the human nature in His Person clave to the Divine Nature. Thence He went forth as a Bridegroom[y] from his chamber, and made a marriage with the Holy Church, enduing her with the Holy Ghost, feeding her with His Body, and giving her to drink of His own Blood. I would speak of each of the ages of the world, and would open to you the way in which the carnal knowledge of Scripture may be turned into the spiritual knowledge thereof. But the day wears away, and the offices of the Church have yet to be performed. However I will touch the subject lightly in few words, [giving you to understand] that as each man has his ages, so also hath the world. For the first age[z] [of the world] is from Adam to Noah;

Festival and bade first the Jews, and (on their rejecting the invitation) the Gentiles, and Who gave Himself for this bride of His, that He might sanctify and cleanse her with the washing of water by the word, and present her to Himself eventually a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that she should be holy and without blemish.

If these are fancies, they are Scriptural fancies, and we must not reject them. If the Fathers gave the rein too much to their fancy in the interpretation of Scripture, we moderns err on the side of too rigid and formal a logic, which strips the sacred text of all its poetry.

[z] Augustine only reckons up six ages of the world, to correspond in number to the waterpots. His words are;

"The 1st age is reckoned from Adam to Noah, the 2nd from Noah to Abraham, and, as Matthew the Evangelist orderly follows out and distinguishes, the 3rd from Abraham to David; the 4th from David to the carrying away into Babylon; the 5th from the carrying away into Babylon to John the Baptist; the 6th from John the Baptist to the end of the world. Therefore also did God make man in His own image *on the sixth day*, because in this sixth age is manifested by the Gospel the renewal of our mind after the image of Him Who created us; and the water is turned into wine, that our taste may discern Christ now manifested in the Law and in the Prophets. Therefore *there were there six waterpots*, which the Lord commanded to be filled with water. These six waterpots then signify six ages, which were not without Prophecy. And those six periods, marked out and separated as it were by joints, would be like empty vessels, were they not filled by Christ. Why have I said, periods which would run on in emptiness, unless the Lord Jesus were preached in them? The prophecies are fulfilled, the waterpots are full: but that the water may be turned into wine, in that entire Prophecy let Christ be discerned." (Aug. Hom. on St. John, Hom. ix. 6. Lib. of Fathers, ST. JOHN, vol. i. p. 142.)

In Mr. Neale's "Mediæval Preaching" there is an interesting extract on

a noe usque ad abraham. tercia ab Abraham usque ad Dauid? quarta a Dauid usque ad Ieconiam quinta a Ieconia usque ad Iohannem Babtistam. sexta a Iohanne Baptista usque ad adventum Heliæ. septima ab adventu Helie usque ad celum novum et terram novam. octava a celo novo et terra nova usque in eternum. Ee igitur fratres ætates sunt hujus mundi. de his et gentiles et christianæ consurgunt historiæ in his prophetarum et apostolorum præclara trita sunt
fol. 221. ingenia.* et nulla fuerunt vel sunt vel futura sunt que sanctorum latuissent providentiam. Verum fratres de singulis tractare difficillimum. et vestræ

the subject of the Six Ages from St. Ivo of Chartres, a saint born about the same time as Herbert, raised to the Episcopate about the same time, and who died in 1115, four or five years before our author.

Ivo assigns the creation of Adam and Eve to the first age; the preservation of Noah and his family in the Ark to the second; the Exodus to the third; the kingdom of David to the fourth; the Captivity and the return from it to the fifth; and the Nativity of Christ to the sixth.

Mr. Neale's note on this passage of Ivo we exhibit in *extenso*, because it throws light upon the two additional ages which Herbert includes in his summary;

"This division of the world's history into six ages, is common to all the mediæval, and borrowed by them from earlier, writers. Thus St. Augustine: 'But when the sixth day shall have ended, then will come the rest, and the saints and righteous servants of God shall keep Sabbath.' So also St. Athanasius: 'In the sixth age the world shall come to its end; and in the seventh the Lord shall descend to judgment; and in the eighth, the good shall go to their everlasting reward, and the wicked to everlasting punishment.' . . . . . There is a hymn of Venerable Bede's, founded on this idea, in which he parallelises the six days' work of the Creator, with the six ages of the world; and then proceeds to speak of the glory of the seventh day, in which the righteous shall enter on reward, and of the eighth, which is typical of their everlasting happiness. For as the Creation was finished in seven days, so that new heaven and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, may fitly be set forth by the first number over seven, namely, by eight. And musicians did not fail to observe, just as St. Ivo does here, that the Octave is only as it were the antitype of the keynote." (Neale's Mediæval Preaching, p. 96, note.)

* It will be observed that whereas Augustine in the passage quoted in

the second stretches from Noah to Abraham; the third from Abraham to David; the fourth from David to Jeremiah; the fifth from Jeremiah to John the Baptist; the sixth from John the Baptist to the coming of Elijah[a]; the seventh from the coming of Elijah to the new Heaven and new earth; the eighth from the new Heaven and new earth to eternity. These then, brethren, are the ages of this world; from these arise the histories both of heathen and Christian nations; in the study of these the Prophets and Apostles spent their excellent gifts; and there is nothing which hath been, or is, or shall be, which could have lain hid from the discernment of the saints. But, brethren, to handle each of these ages were a thing exceeding difficult; and we

the last note mentions the end of the world as the termination of the sixth age, Herbert mentions the coming of Elijah. It was a very early tradition, and one which prevailed for twelve centuries of the Church's existence, that Enoch and Elijah were to appear at the end of the world, and to be the two witnesses mentioned in Revelation xi. 3; and that after bearing their testimony they should "restore to death that which they owed, but hitherto had not paid him," being killed by Antichrist. Thus St. Gregory the Great; "At that time both the latest elect and the first elect are described as maintaining the conflict for righteousness against him" (Antichrist), "in that both they that shall be found among the elect at the end of the world, are destined to be laid low in the death of the flesh, and they too who proceeded from the former divisions of the world, i.e. Enoch and Elijah, shall be brought back amongst men, and shall be exposed to the savageness of his cruelty still in their mortal flesh." (St. Greg., Morals on the Book of Job, book xiv. sec. 27. Lib. of Fathers, MORALS ON JOB, vol. ii. p. 133.)

And Bede on St. Matt. xi. 14: "John was the herald of the Redeemer; Elias shall be the herald of the Judge, as Malachi saith." (Opp., tom. v. col. 36.) And on St. Mark ix. 12: "And how it is written of the Son of Man, that He must suffer many things, and be set at nought." "That is, as the Prophets have written many things in divers ways concerning the Passion of Christ, so Elias, when he shall come, shall suffer many things, and be contemned by the ungodly. He shall restore all things, in the first place, the hearts of the men of that age, by teaching them to believe in Christ and to resist the perfidy of Antichrist, next, [he shall restore] his own life, by laying it down for the testimony of the faith of Christ; of whom there is a full and mystical description in the Apocalypse." (Opp., tom. v. col. 155.)

The reader who cares to follow up the subject may see an attempted refutation of the Patristic views of Enoch and Elijah in Ravanel's Bibliotheca Sacra, *sub voce*, TRANSFERRE. (Part ii. p. 759.)

mediocritati difficilia proponere non præsumimus. Id attendite quod finis adest rerum. quod mundi inminet senectus. quod elementorum dissolvetur compotisio (*sic*). Tractat dominus de communi morte mundi. et de faciendo iudicio suo. et vos cogitate de corectione vitæ vestræ. et de emendatione peccatorum vestrorum. Veniunt reges orientis bethleem fulgoribus stellarum. vos properate ad celestem hereditatem sacrarum admonicionibus scripturarum. Illis sidera. vobis loquntur sacra euangelia. Salvator venit ad baptismum Iohannis. vos venistis ad baptismum vestri salvatoris. Peccastis post baptismum. non cadatis in desperationis baratrum. Unus quidem deus. una fides. unum baptisma. set pura confessio. et vera penitentia præteriti baptismatis vestræ purificationi reporta-

[b] It is interesting to observe the doctrine of a mediæval divine on the subject of Sin after Baptism, some four hundred years before the Council of Trent broached its formal definition on the subject, and more than one hundred years before auricular confession was first decreed in the fourth Council of Lateran under Innocent III. (A.D. 1215).

The Canons of the Council of Trent on the subject are—(Session XIV.) Canon I. (p. 154.)

"If any one shall say that in the Catholic Church Penance is not truly "and properly a Sacrament instituted by Christ our Lord for the recon- "ciling of the faithful unto God Himself, as often as they lapse into sins "after Baptism; let him be accursed."

Canon II.

"If any one, confounding two Sacraments, shall say that Baptism itself is "the Sacrament of Penitence, as if these two Sacraments were not distinct, "and that therefore Penance is wrongly called a second plank after ship- "wreck; let him be accursed."

Canon IV.

"If any one shall deny that three acts are required in the penitent to the "entire and perfect remission of his sins, as the *matter** of the Sacrament of "Penance, to wit, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, which are called

* The matter of the Sacrament of Penance is said to be the act of the penitent, including contrition, confession, and satisfaction. The form of it is the act of absolution on the part of the priest.

do not presume to propose such difficult things to your moderate understanding. Observe only that the end of all things is at hand; that the world is now well stricken in age; that the composition of the elements shall be dissolved. The Lord discourses of the general death of the universe, and of the holding of His great Judgment. And do ye, on your part, think upon the amendment of your life, and the correction of your sins. The kings of the East came to Bethlehem guided by the bright shining of stars. Hasten ye to your heavenly inheritance, guided by the warnings of the Holy Scriptures. To them the stars, to you the holy Gospels speak. The Saviour came to the Baptism of John; ye have come to the Baptism of your Saviour. Ye have sinned after Baptism; but see that ye fall not into the pit of despair. There is indeed *one God, one Faith, and one* [*only*] *Baptism;* but a good confession and sincere penitence will bring back again [b] the effect of the Baptism which

Eph. iv. 5.

"the three parts of Penance, or shall say that there are only two parts of "penitence, to wit, a terror-stricken conscience, upon the acknowledgment "of sin, and a faith conceived from the Gospel, or from absolution, by "which a man believes that his sins are forgiven through Christ, let "him be accursed."

It will be seen that Herbert holds that *two* conditions are necessary to bring back the effect of the One Baptism—namely, 1. a good confession (i.e. probably a full unreserved one), and 2. a sincere μετάνοια in the inner man.

The views of some of the Fathers on this subject are thus given by Bp. Harold Browne; (Articles, p. 358, Art. xvi.)

"St. Cyprian says, that to a lapsed Christian who repents, prays, and exerts himself, God gives pardon and restores his arms, so that he may fight again, strengthened for the conflict by the very sorrow for his sins. And he, thus strengthened by the Lord, may make glad the Church which he had saddened, and obtain not only pardon, but a crown. St. Gregory Nazianzen calls penitence another Baptism" (we think Herbert's way of representing the matter safer, as not even seeming to clash with the doctrine of there being but *one* Baptism for the remission of sins), "but rougher and more troublesome: and says that, owning the infirmity and fickleness of man, he gratefully accepts for himself, and willingly imparts to others, this grace of repentance; aware that he himself is compassed with infirmities, and that with what measure he metes, it shall be measured to him again. The Novatian he calls the modern Pharisee, and asks if he would not have allowed the repentance of David, or the return of Peter after he had denied

bit effectum. Venite fratres et inebriamini cognitæ veritatis mero. quia ut ait salvator ea est vita eterna. ut cognoscatis unum deum. et quem ipse misit Ihesum Christum. Angusta est via que ducit ad vitam. set lata et spaciosa valde quæ ducit ad perdicionem. Gulosi. ebriosi. luxuriosi. fornicatores. adulti. (*sic*) fraudatores. perjuri. iniqui judices. falsi accusatores. festinant ad interitum. et brevi intervallo submergentur in infernum. Vos vestram arripite armaturam. cognicionem. pœnitentiam. confessionem. abstinentiam de peccatis vestris. et qui districtum dei iudicium effugere non potestis. contendite de reconciliatione vestra.
f. 221, col. 2. Opulentissimus deus vestra* non aspernatur exenia. Relinqunt aliqui omnia que possident. et sequntur salvatorem. et audiunt. Vos qui sequti estis me in regeneratione cum sederit filius hominis in sede majestatis suæ. sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim iudicantes xii. tribus israel? et omnis qui reliquerit patrem aut matrem. uxorem. an (*sic*) filios aut agros propter nomen meum. centuplum accipiet et vitam æternam possidebit. Zacheus donavit pauperibus dimidium bonorum suorum et factus est filius Abrahe. Donavit vidua quadrantem. et habundantius ceteris misit in gazophilatium. Nullum pietatis infructuosum munus. ubi calix

his Lord, or the contrition of the incestuous Corinthian, to whom St. Paul confirmed his love."

The doctrine of our own Church on the subject is as follows: (Art. xvi.) "Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may rise again, and amend our lives."

is past, for your purification. Come then, brethren, and drink abundantly of the wine of the truth which is known to you, because, as the Saviour saith; *This is life eternal, that ye should know the only God, and Jesus Christ Whom He hath sent.* Narrow is the way which leadeth unto life; but broad is the way which leadeth to perdition, and hath large room in it. Gluttons, and drunkards, and effeminate persons, and fornicators, and adulterers, and defrauders, and perjured persons, and unjust judges, and false accusers, hasten to destruction, and within a little space of time shall be plunged into hell. As for you, seize ye your armour, knowledge, penitence, confession, and abstinence from your sins; and since ye cannot escape the sifting judgment of God, strive earnestly for reconciliation. God, though He possesses all things, doth not despise your tribute. There are some who forsake all they possess, and follow the Saviour, and hear those words, *Ye who have followed Me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit on the Throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one who shall have forsaken father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My Name's sake shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life.* Zacchæus gave to the poor the half of his goods, and became[c] a son of Abraham. The widow gave a farthing, and cast into the treasury more abundantly than all the rest. No office of piety can be without its reward, when

St. John xvii. 3.

See St. Matt. vii. 13, 14.

See 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

St. Matt. xix. 28, 29.

See St. Luke xix. 8, 9.

See St. Mark xii. 42, &c., and St. Luke xxi. 2, &c.

[c] Herbert has not quite rightly apprehended the meaning of the text to which he refers. Zacchæus is not said to have *become* a son of Abraham, but to *be* a son of Abraham: "though despised by the multitude, he has his rights as a Jew, and has availed himself of them by receiving his Lord in faith and humility." (*Alford* in loc.) Possibly Herbert, in thinking of the text as it stands in the Latin translation, may have mentally transposed the verb *fio*. It is not said, "factus est filius Abrahæ," but "salus domui huic *facta est*, eo quod et ipse filius *sit* Abrahæ."—Or, more probably, he is only following in the wake of his favourite, Bede; "Zacchæus is called the son of Abraham, not because he was born of Abraham's seed, but because he imitates his faith, that *as Abraham left his country and his father's house, so he abandoned* all his goods in giving them to the poor." (Bede, in the *Catena Aurea*, Lib. of Fathers, St. Luke, Part II., p. 627.)

aquæ frigidæ et sola bona voluntas sufficiunt ad redemptionem nostram. Clamant pauperes ante januas vestras. set Christus colligitur in eis. Narrat beatus gregorius quendam divitem valde misericordem fuisse. et solius elemosinæ obsequiis delectari. Is in via inventum peregrinum advocavit. et suo in palatio collegit. Cui cum ex more mensam apponeret. et aquam manibus porrigere vellet. peregrinus evanuit. suamque præsentiam circumstantibus ministris repentinus subtraxit. Sequenti nocte[d] in visione patrifamilias dominus apparuit. et blanda alloqutione mestum consolatus est virum. Aliis inquit diebus fili famulatus es mihi in meis membris. set hac die me ipsum in propria persona collegisti. Videte dilectissimi fratres quanta sit misericordia vestri salvatoris. Estote misericordes sicut et pater vester misericors est? qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos. et pluit super justos et injustos. Venundati eratis diabolo. set precio sui sanguinis rede-

[d] This anecdote is taken from a choice little homily of St. Gregory's for Easter Monday (which has the recommendation of extreme brevity), on the journey to Emmaus. From the circumstance that the two disciples constrained the Lord to abide with them, the preacher takes occasion to remark that strangers are not merely to be invited but urged to partake of our hospitality, in the active exercise of which we shall, as the disciples did, find our Lord. Then the anecdote is introduced thus:

"Opinata res est valde, et seniorum nostrorum nobis relatione tradita. Quidam paterfamilias cum totâ domo suâ magno hospitalitatis studio serviebat: cumque quotidie ad mensam suam peregrinos susciperet, quodam die peregrinus quidam inter alios venit, ad mensam ductus est. Dumque paterfamilias ex humilitatis consuetudine aquam vellet in ejus manibus fundere, conversus urceum accepit: sed repentè eum, in cujus manibus aquam fundere voluerat, non invenit. Cumque hoc factum secum ipse miraretur, eâdem nocte ei Dominus per visionem dixit: Cæteris diebus me in membris meis, hesterno autem die me in memet ipso suscepisti." (S. Gregorii Magni, Opp., lib. ii. hom. xxiii. tom. i. col. 1539 B.)

a cup of cold water and good-will only shall suffice for our redemption. The poor cry before your doors; but it is Christ Who is taken in when we take them in. S. Gregory tells[d] how a certain rich man was full of compassion, and had his whole delight in the ministering of alms. He called to him a stranger whom he found in the way, and received him in his palace. When according to custom he had set a table before his guest, and was about to give him water for his hands, the stranger vanished, and all of a sudden withdrew his presence from the attendants who stood around. On the following night the Lord appeared in a vision to the good man of the house, and spake graciously to him in his sadness with these comfortable words. "On other days, My son," saith He, "thou didst minister to Me in My members, but on this day thou hast received Me in Mine own Person." See, dearly-beloved brethren, how great is the mercy of your Saviour. *Be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful, Who maketh the sun to rise on the good and on the evil, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.* Ye were sold[e] to the devil, but the

See St. Matt. x. 42.

See St. Matt. xxv. 35, 38, 40.

St. Luke vi. 36. St. Matt. v. 45.

[e] Such passages as these occurring in mediæval Divines are to be taken not for a philosophical theory of the Atonement, but as figures of speech, which of course must not be pressed too closely.

Archbishop Thomson, in his Essay on the Death of Christ (Aids to Faith, p. 342), quotes from Irenæus a more detailed statement of this view of the Atonement, as having been a price paid to the Devil, under whose power sin had brought us:

"Since," (says Irenæus,) "the Apostasy [the Devil] unjustly got the dominion over us, and though we belonged by nature to the Omnipotent God, alienated us against nature and made us his own disciples, the Word of God [Christ], powerful in all things and perfect in justice, acted justly in regard to the Apostasy [the Devil], redeeming from it that which was His own; not by force, in the way that it got dominion over us from the beginning, when it carried off insatiably that which belonged not to it, but by persuasion (*secundum suadelam*), as it became God to receive what He would, by the use of persuasion, not of force, that justice should not be infringed, nor yet that which God created of old should perish." (Iren. Adv. Hær., lib. v. c. i. s. 1).

The Archbishop tells us that "in certain modern writers who have touched the subject, an undue prominence is given to one feature of Patristic teaching, the notion that the ransom paid by our Lord was paid

mit vos mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Ihesus. Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto. vivit
f. 221, b. * et regnat deus? per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

to the Devil, into whose power man had passed through sin. Thus what is for the most part rhetorical playing with words is put forward as if it were the sole and the serious belief of these writers. But the story bears a very different telling." And he then produces evidence that the Fathers support the ordinary view of the Atonement.

Anselm, (whom Herbert joined in consecrating to the see of Canterbury, and of whose *Cur Deus Homo* it is impossible to say whether it was written before or after these Sermons of Herbert), rejects the above

Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus, hath redeemed you with the price of His own Blood, Who with the Father and the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth God for ever and ever. Amen. 1 Tim. ii. 5. See 1 Pet. i. 18, 19.

view (as a philosophical statement) in the seventh chapter of that treatise. In Abp. Thomson's words; "The argument that God gave His Son as a ransom of man from the power of Satan, because it was just and right to recover by fair means a race who had freely and voluntarily given themselves over to his power, is at once dismissed" [by Anselm] "for the true reasons, viz. that the Devil cannot properly have either merit, or power, or right over man; that the power which in one sense he exerts against mankind was only permissive, and that it expired when the permission was withdrawn."

III.

In red letters.

SERMO.

VENERABILIS. HERBERTI EPISCOPI.

DE PURIFICATIONE. SANCTE. MARIE.

Dominicæ nativitatis et sancti (*sic*) theophaniæ præterita solennia karissimi fratres præsentis diei præclara repræsentat. solennitas. que tanto devotius est celebranda? quanto excellentiori humilitatis gratia tota redundat. Hodie namque beatissima virgo maria, suæ speluncæ ergastulo egreditur.[b] Hodie sanctam civitatem ingreditur. non satellitum constipata cohortibus. set angelorum comitata agminibus. Hodie sanctum procedit ad templum? regales hostias oblatura pro filio. Occurrit anna vidua. mulier prophetissa. que post mortem viri prolixa consenuerat castitate. Annosa agnoscit parvulum. exitura de mundo recognoscit intrantem. et multa de salvatore prophetatur (*sic*) omnibus qui expectabant redemptionem israel. Occurrit simeon dierum plenus. set virtutum plenior. Is homo a spiritu sancto acceperat responsum quod non sentiret mortem. nisi prius videret

[a] See below, note o.

[b] "from the prison-house of her cave"—*suæ speluncæ ergastulo. Ergastulum* in classical Latin was a private prison, attached to Roman farms, where the slaves were made to work in chains. It was lighted by narrow windows, so high as to preclude the possibility of escape from them. These prison-houses were often tyrannically used; and the Emperor Hadrian abolished them. (See Dict. of Rom. and Greek Ant., sub voce *Ergastulum.*) In the lower Latin the word came to mean an instrument of confinement used in prisons,—"shackles," "fetters." See Ducange, *sub voce.*

III.

A SERMON

OF

THE VENERABLE BISHOP HERBERT,

ON THE PURIFICATION OF ST. MARY[a].

THE high festival of the present day, brethren, brings back [to the mind] the past solemnities of our Lord's Nativity and of the holy Theophany. And it is to be celebrated so much the more devoutly, as it abounds in every part with the more excellent grace of humility. For to-day the most blessed Virgin Mary comes forth from the prison-house[b] of her cave. To-day she enters the holy city, not compassed with troops of guards, but accompanied by hosts of angels. To-day she goeth to the holy Temple to offer royal sacrifices for her Son. There the widow Anna meets her[c],—a prophetess who after the death of her husband had grown old in a long widowhood. The aged woman acknowledges the little child; she who was about to leave the world confesses Him Who is entering it, and prophesies[d] many things respecting the Saviour to all who are looking for redemption in Israel. There meets her also Simeon full of days, but fuller still of graces. That man had received an oracle from the Holy Ghost that he should not taste of death before he had seen the Lord's Christ.

See St. Luke ii. 36, 38.

St. Luke ii. 26.

c "The widow Anna meets her;" and again below, "There meets her also Simeon." The name of the Festival in the Greek Church was Ὑπαπαντή (the Meeting) from this meeting with Simeon and Anna. See below, note o, p. 86.

d "Simeon had prophesied; a woman united in marriage" (Elizabeth) "had prophesied; a virgin had prophesied; it was meet also that a widow should prophesy, that there might lack no sex or condition of life; and therefore it is said, *And there was one Anna a prophetess.*" AMBROSE, as quoted in the *Catena Aurea*, in loc.

Christum domini. Magnus homo. et revera serviens spiritui sancto. qui tantum responsum acceperat de spiritu sancto. Is venit in spiritu in templum. agnoscit præsentiam salvatoris. occurrit virgini. infantem arripit. ulnis elevat. et fidelis exclamat veteranus. Nunc inquit domine dimittis servum tuum in pace. quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum. quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum. Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloriam plebis tuæ israel. Videtis dilectissimi fratres. ab orbe condito usque ad dies suos. quantum desiderium fuit sanctis exspectantibus incarnationem verbi dei. videre deum. audire deum. loqui cum deo. et communi hominum congratulari saluti. Unde dominus in evangelio. Multi reges et prophete voluerunt videre que vos videtis et non viderunt. et audire que auditis et non audierunt. Certe fratres senex iste multum fuit ad credendum velox. set non ad videndum serus. Suam sentiebat inminere mortem. set de sui promissione non diffidebat sponsoris. Flagrabat spiritu. et continuis dicebat orationibus. Putas me (*sic*) durabo? Putas ne videbunt carnales oculi mei. quod spiritali auditui promissum est a spiritu sancto? Potest ne promittere deus quod non est facturus? Set a verbis summæ divinitatis. om-

f. 221 b. col. 2.

* Our readers will thank us for quoting a passage from Schaff's History of the Apostolic Church (vol. i. pp. 200, 201), in which this longing for the Advent of Messiah is spoken of as reaching its climax in the Virgin herself;

"These disciples of John, these genuine Nathanaels, and those souls who silently hoped and looked for the redemption of Israel by the Messiah alone, as the aged Simeon, the prophetess Anna, the mother of our Lord, with her friends and kindred, the lovely group at Bethany, with whom the

A great man, and one who in truth was obedient to the Holy Ghost, since he had received so grave an oracle from the Holy Ghost. He comes by the Spirit into the Temple; acknowledges the Presence of the Saviour; approaches the Virgin, eagerly takes the Infant, raises Him in his arms, and then the aged believer exclaims; *Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of Thy people Israel.* Ye see, dearly beloved brethren, how from the beginning of the world down to the times of which we speak, the Saints who waited for the Incarnation of the Word of God desired greatly[e] to see God, to hear God, to speak with God, and to hail the common salvation of mankind. Whence the Lord saith in the Gospel, *Many kings and prophets have desired to see the things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear the things which ye hear, and have not heard them.* Certainly, brethren, that aged man was very quick to believe; yet was he not too late to see. He felt that his death was at hand, but he did not distrust the promise of Him Who had pledged His word to him. He was fervent in spirit, and was wont to say in continual prayers, "Thinkest "thou that I shall abide? Thinkest thou that the eyes "of my flesh will see what has been promised to my "spiritual ear by the Holy Ghost? Can the Lord pro-"mise what He will not perform? But falsehood must "be utterly strange unto the words of the Most High

St. Luke ii. 26, 27.

St. Luke ii. 29—32.

St. Matt. xiii. 17; and St. Luke x. 24.

Lord lived in a most familiar intercourse;—these were the true representatives of the Old Testament in its direct and strong bearing towards Christianity. They were the people of holy aspirations and exalted hopes; the first-fruits of the new Covenant, sealed by the Blood of the Son of God. Above all must the antitype of Eve, the blessed Virgin Mary, who bore under her heart the Saviour of the world, be regarded as the living embodiment and the pure temple of the deepest longing after the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, and after the redemption of Israel; and thus well fitted and worthy to be the Mother of our Lord and Saviour, the guardian of His childhood, and blessed among women."

nino falsitas aliena est. Talia mente volvebat. et senilem faciem diurnis et nocturnis continuis lacrimis irrigabat. Venit hora. et diu exspectatam accepit promissionem. De sinu et uberibus virginis tulit dominum. et confessus est dei filium. verum lumen. quod illuminat omnem hominem in hunc mundum venientem. Processit virgo.[f] et super sacras aras turtures et columbas optulit. Per turtures. et suam. et sui filii integritatem. et per columbas designans simplicitatem. Fertur quippe turtur tantæ esse castitatis. ut si forte suum jugale perdidit. ulterius aliud non requirat. et columba tante simplicitatis. ut sine felle pro nido et pullis pugnare prædicetur. Ita beatissima virgo.

[f] It should be "turtledoves OR pigeons" ("par turturum, AUT duos pullos columbarum"). (Bede, as will be seen below, end of note g, draws a lesson from the alternative.)

The prescription in the Levitical ritual on the subject (Lev. xii.) was as follows: (1.) for a boy; "uncleanness" for seven days; the child's circumcision on the eighth; "continuance in the blood of her purifying" (involving exclusion from the Temple) for three and thirty days (making forty from the day of the birth).

(2.) for a girl; "uncleanness" for fourteen days; "continuance in the blood of her purifying" sixty-six days (making eighty in all).

The days of the purifying being fulfilled, the offerings prescribed for a boy and a girl were the same. For those who could afford it, these offerings were to be, a lamb of the first year for a burnt-offering, and a young pigeon OR turtledove for a sin-offering. For those who could not afford so much, a pair of turtledoves OR two young pigeons, the one for a burnt-offering, the other for a sin-offering.

The fact of the Virgin's making the less expensive offering shews that she and her affianced husband were poor, and is a reason for believing that (according to the order of the events in the Apocryphal Gospels) the Purification took place *before* the Visit of the Magi, as otherwise the gold offered by them might have sufficed to purchase the costlier offering.

[g] This allegorising of both pigeon and turtledove is from Bede, (*Catena Aurea*, Lib. of Fathers, St. Luke, Part I. pp. 82, 83).

"The pigeon denotes simplicity, the turtledove chastity; for the pigeon is a lover of simplicity, and the turtledove of chastity, so that if by chance she has lost her mate, she cares not to find another. Rightly then are the pigeon and the turtledove offered as victims to the Lord, because the simple

God." Of such things he communed with his own heart, and watered his aged countenance with continual tears day and night. The hour came, and he received the promise so long expected. From the lap and breasts of the Virgin he bore the Lord, and confessed the Son of God, *the true Light, which lighteneth every man which cometh into the world.* The Virgin came forth, and presented on the sacred Altars turtledoves[f] and pigeons, signifying by the turtledoves the innocence of herself and her Son, and by the pigeons their simplicity. For the turtledove is said to be a bird of such constancy that, if by chance it hath lost its mate, it never seeks another[g] afterwards; and the pigeon is of such simplicity that she is said to fight for her nest and her young without gall[h]. Even so the most blessed

St. John i. 9

and chaste conversation of the faithful is a sacrifice of righteousness well-pleasing to Him."

In another passage Bede exhibits the contrast between the natural history of the two birds, and of course finds here also a mystical meaning;

"But while each bird from its habit of wailing represents the present sorrows of the saints, in this they differ, that the turtle is solitary, but the pigeon flies about in flocks, and hence one points to the secret tears of confession, the other to the public assembling of the Church." . . . "Or, the pigeon, which flies in flocks, sets forth the busy intercourse of active life. The turtle, which delights in solitariness, tells of the lofty heights of the contemplative life. But because each victim is equally accepted by the Creator, St. Luke has purposely omitted whether the turtles or young pigeons were offered for the Lord, that he might not prefer one mode of life before another; but teach that both ought to be followed." (He gives as instances of turtles in solitary contemplation, Moses on the mount, Isaiah in the vision of the Seraphim, Ezekiel in that of the Cherubim, Daniel when his companions fled to hide themselves, Paul in Paradise and the third heaven.)

[h] So a Sermon of Guerricus Abbas, a disciple of St. Bernard's, in the Appendix to Bernard's Works, tom. ii. col. 979.

"The pigeon, brethren, is a simple animal; it is *without gall;* with its beak it never hurts (another); makes its nest in a hole of the rock; rears the young of others; abides by the side of streams, so that, on spying the shadow of the hawk, she may flee away; chooseth the better grains of corn; sendeth forth a plaint in place of a song; flies in flocks; protects herself with her wings, renews her sight. And we, brethren, when we stand before the altar that we may offer unto God His own Son, let us offer with Him and for Him a pair of turtledoves, to wit, purity of body and mind. And offer we also two young pigeons, mourning instead of singing, as

cujus inmaculata caro nupserat verbo dei. nec antea. nec postea alium sponsum cognovit. set felle bigamiæ penitus excluso. virgo concepit. virgo peperit. virgo permansit. et sue virginitatis claustra summo regi qui per eadem processerat

having a twofold compunction,—the one out of longing for our heavenly country, the other out of consideration of our own misery. *The dove is without gall;* let us also be without wrath, which maketh us sin. Let us hurt no one with our beak; but when smitten on one cheek let us offer also the other. Let us make our nest in holes of the rocks, that is, let us find a refuge in the faith of Christ's wounds. Let us rear the young of others, making of the children of the devil children of God by the preached Word. Let us abide near the rivers; that is to say, while sitting near the stream of this mortal life, when we spy the shadow of the hawk (that is, the sins which are the devil's shadow, and the ruin of the wicked) let us make haste to escape from his talons. Let us choose the best grains of corn; that is, the best maxims in the Holy Scriptures. Let us fly in troops, joining with one consent in what is good, and gathered together under [one] Shepherd. Let us protect ourselves against God's enemies with the wings of the Old and New Testaments; or with the two precepts of charity, to wit, the love of God and that of our neighbour. Let us renew our sight, from the good of action ever pressing on towards the good of contemplation."

As to the connexion between the gall and the passion of anger, we read in the Life of S. François de Sales (Livre 7, Œuvres, tome i. p. 223, a.):—

"Dès qu'on fut assuré de sa mort, on l'ouvrit pour l'embaumer; et ce fut alors qu'on s'aperçut de ce qu'on a déjà dit, que cette grande douceur qu'on a si fort admirée en lui ne lui était pas naturelle; car *on trouva son fiel durci et partagé en plusieurs petites pierres par la violence continuelle qu'il s'était faite pour surmonter la colère,* à laquelle il était naturellement sujet."

i "virgo permansit." This probably means that she was "virgo post partum," that is, that her virginity was not destroyed by Christ's being born of her, as some ancient heretics supposed. So Bede, "Dominus noster non credendus est devirginâsse sacri ventris hospitium, quod ingressus sanctificârat, (juxta hæreticos qui dicunt Mariam virginem usque ad partum, non virginem post partum esse) sed juxta fidem Catholicam *clauso virginis utero*, quasi sponsus, suo processisse de thalamo." (Bede, in Lucæ Evan., tom. v. col. 241.)

k "The peculiar eminency and unparalleled privilege of that mother, the special honour and reverence due unto that Son, and ever paid by her, the regard of that Holy Ghost who came upon her, and the power of the Highest which overshadowed her, the singular goodness and piety of Joseph, to whom she was espoused, have persuaded the Church of God in all ages to believe that Mary" [after the Birth of our Lord] "still continued in the same virginity, and therefore is to be acknowledged the *ever Virgin*

Virgin, whose spotless flesh had been espoused to the Word of God, neither after nor before that great event knew any other spouse; eschewing utterly the gall of a second marriage. As a Virgin she conceived, as a Virgin she brought forth a Son, and remained a Virgin[i]; and kept the doors of her virginity for the Most High King, who had gone forth through them[k].

Mary. As if the gate of the sanctuary in the Prophet Ezekiel were to be understood of her: *This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it: because the Lord God of Israel hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.*" Pearson on the Creed, vol. i. p. 304, and see the context of this passage, in which Pearson disposes of the arguments of those who, on the ground of certain passages of Scripture, demur to the ἀειπαρθενία of St. Mary.

Hooker seems to have sympathised with Pearson in the warmth with which he maintains the doctrine.

"Helvidius, against whom St. Jerome writeth, abused greatly those words of Matthew concerning Joseph and the Mother of our Saviour, *He knew her not till she had brought forth her firstborn*, thereby gathering, against the honour of the blessed Virgin, that a thing denied with special circumstance doth import an opposite affirmation when once that circumstance is expired." (Eccl. Pol., V. xlv. 2, vol. ii. (ed. Keble) pp. 247, 248.)

And in the Mediæval Church the strength of feeling in favour of this doctrine was intense. The impugners of it grew into a sect who were called Antidico-marianitæ (Pleaders in the suit against Mary), and whose heresy was condemned in the sixth general Council (the third of Constantinople, assembled by Constantine Pogonatus in A.D. 680).

To shew that the Ancient Church maintained some balance of doctrine on the subject of the Virgin, it may be mentioned that they equally denounced the opposite heresy of the Collyridians, who "worshipped the Blessed Virgin as a goddess, and judged it necessary to appease her anger, and seek her favour and protection, by libations, sacrifices, and oblations of cakes (*collyridæ*), and such like services." (Mosheim, Eccl. Hist., cent. iv. part ii. ch. v. Sec. xxv. Vol. i. p. 432.)

We may thus briefly summarize our conclusion.

1. Holy Scripture says nothing expressly and plainly on the subject of Mary's Ever-Virginity. For the edge of those passages, which seem to imply that the Blessed Virgin had children after our Lord's Birth, is turned by Bp. Pearson's arguments; and their force, dealt with by him, becomes *nil*.

2. A sentiment of reverence (and our feelings are often safer guides than our reasonings) inclines us to the belief of the Early Church, Hooker, and Pearson.

3. The sixth general Council was one of those which the Universal Church has ever received and approved. Great deference therefore is due to its decisions, more especially when it is considered that it was but sup-

f. 222. incontaminata conservavit. Expiatur itaque virgo legalibus hostiis set regine mundi integritas. legis expiatione minime indigebat. Non enim lex omnem parturientem feminam dixerat esse pollutam. set eam que suscepto viri semine peperisset filium. Hanc iubebat lex vii. diebus abstinere a thoro viri. et octavo die circumcidi infantulum. et nomen aptari. et post .xxx. et .iii. dies. templum ingredi et pro puero prædictas hostias offerri Deo. O humilitatis altitudo. o nimietas divinæ patientiæ. o archanum summe divinitatis consilium. Redimitur legi legis dominus. expiatur peccato? inmunis et originalis et actualis peccati. Donantur pro domino hostiæ. set dominus veritas erat hostiarum singularis futurus hostia pro delictis. et peccatis suorum omnium crediturorum. Redempturus erat dominus omne genus hominum. et ideo non aspernatur omnium ordinum testimonium. Maria et iohannes virgines erant et in proposito virginitatis inmutabiliter consistebant. Respondet maria angelo. Magnificat anima mea dominum. et exultavit spiritus meus in deo salutari meo. Clamat iohannes. vox videlicet clamantis in deserto. Agite pœnitentiam. et præparate vias vestras domino. Ecce agnus dei. ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi. Ecce de quo dicebam vobis. qui prius (*sic*) me venit ante me factus est? cuius non sum dignus solvere corrigiam calciamentorum

plemental to the fourth (Chalcedon, A.D. 451), in which the orthodox doctrine of the union of two natures in the Person of the Son of God was confirmed and defined.

[1] This difference between the Virgin's case and that of others is drawn

The Virgin then is purified by means of the offerings enjoined in the Law; although the chastity of the Queen of the world in no wise needed this legal purification. For the law had not said that every child-bearing woman was polluted, but her only who, having conceived[1] seed of man, had brought forth a son. The Law commanded such an one to abstain for seven days from lying with man, and that on the eighth day the babe should be circumcised, and a fit name given him, and that after thirty and three days she should enter into the temple, and that the aforesaid sacrifices should be offered unto God for the child. Levit. xii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Oh depth of humility! Oh the overflowing abundance of the Divine long-suffering! Oh the secret counsel of the Most High God! The Lord of the Law is redeemed for the law, and He Who was free from sin both original and actual has atonement made for Him. Sacrifices are presented on behalf of the Lord; but the Lord was the Truth of those sacrifices, Who was about to be the one only Sacrifice for the transgressions and sins of all His people, who should believe in Him. The Lord was about to redeem the whole human race; and therefore He disdaineth not the testimony of all conditions of men. Mary and John were virgins, and continued in that estate without changing their purpose. And Mary answers to the angel; *My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.* John crieth aloud, to wit, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, *Repent ye, and prepare your ways for the Lord. Behold the Lamb of God, behold Him Who taketh away the sin of the world. Behold Him of Whom I said unto you, He Who cometh after me is preferred before me, Whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose.* St. Luke i. 46, 47. St. Matt. iii. 2, 3. St. John i. 29, 30. St. John i. 27.

from Bede, who adds that "though exempt from the obligations of the Law, yet Mary of her own will submitted herself (like Christ) to the Law." In the same way our Lord received the Baptism of Repentance, though He needed not to repent, and worked a miracle to pay the temple-tax, though as Son of God He was exempt from that tribute. (Bede, tom. v. col. 241.)

eius. Hic deus et vita eterna. de cuius plenitudine nos omnes accipimus. gratia pro gratia. quia ego baptizavi vos aqua? iste autem baptizabit
f. 222, col. 2. vos spiritu sancto et igni. Vidua prophetat anna. et publice prædicabat nativitatem salvatoris omnibus qui exspectabant redemptionem israel. Veniant et coniugati. et ipsi afferant testimonium salvatori nato. Dic tu zacharia summe sacerdos et pater iohannis baptistæ. Dic tu visionem coram omnibus quam vidisti in templo in sanctis sanctorum. Tui nativitate filii soluta est lingua tua. securus prædica veritatem. Benedictus dominus deus israel quia visitavit et fecit redemptionem plebis suæ. et erexit cornu salutis in domo david pueri sui. Dic et tu elisabeth vetus mulier et nova mater. Dic et tu ei testimonium. qui nullo indiget testimonio cuius virtute. et obprobrio sterilitatis cares. et gratia gaudens (*sic*) concipiendi. Et unde hoc mihi ut veniat mater domini mei ad me? Ecce enim ut facta est vox salutationis tuæ in auribus meis? exultavit in gaudio infans in utero meo. et beata que credidisti. quoniam perficientur omnia que dicta sunt tibi a domino. Videtis igitur fratres virgines. continentes. coniugatos. adventum prædicare salvatoris. quia ista nativitate et virginum. et continentium. et coniugatorum electorum præparatur salus. Virgo es? custodi integritatem tuam. et tuo virgini famulare inperatori. Continens es conserva et tu sanctimoniam. et tuus efficietur Christus sponsus. Coniugatus es. non capiaris adulterii visco. quoniam Deus sancti matrimonii actor (*sic*) est. Unde

This is the true God and eternal life[m], *of Whose fulness we all receive, and grace for grace. For I indeed baptized you with water, but He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.* The widowed Anna prophesies, and publicly proclaimed the Birth of the Saviour to all who were looking for redemption in Israel. Let married people[n], too, come and bear their testimony to the new-born Saviour. Speak thou Zacharias, thou most highly favoured priest and father of John the Baptist. Rehearse thou before all what vision thou sawest in the Temple in the Holy of Holies. By the birth of thy son thy tongue is loosed: speak forth the truth then fearlessly. *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for He hath visited and redeemed His people, and hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of His servant David.* Speak also thou, Elisabeth, thou aged woman, newly become a mother. Bear thou also a testimony to Him, Who needeth no testimony, by Whose power the reproach of barrenness is rolled away from thee, and it is given thee joyfully to conceive seed. *And whence is this to me that the Mother of my Lord should come to me? for behold as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in my ears, the babe leaped in my womb. And blessed art thou who believest: for there shall be a performance of those things which were spoken to thee by the Lord.* Ye see then, brethren, that virgins, widows, and married people all publish the Advent of the Saviour, because by that Birth preparation is made for the salvation of all the elect, be they virgins, or chaste widows, or wedded people. Art thou a virgin? Maintain thy purity, and obey thy Virgin King. Art thou widower or widow? Do thou also maintain holiness, and Christ shall become thy Spouse. Art thou wedded? Be not snared with the bird-lime of adultery, since it is God who knits the bond of holy wedlock. Whence

1 St. John v. 20. St. John i. 16. St. Matt. iii. 11.

St. Luke i. 68, 69.

St. Luke i. 43, 44, 45.

[m] A passage from the pen of St. John the Evangelist put into the mouth of St. John the Baptist.

[n] See above, note d.

scriptum est. A deo præparatur uxor viro. Et dominus iubet in evangelio. Quod Deus iunxit homo non separet. Ecce omnes baiulatis lumi-

a "Behold, all of you are carrying candles." It may be convenient in this place to give some account of the Church Festival which forms the subject of this Sermon.

There were in the mediæval Church seven Festivals of the Virgin, 1. the Purification (Feb. 2); 2. the Annunciation (March 25); 3. the Visitation (July 2), commemorating the Virgin's visit to Elisabeth; 4. the Assumption (Aug. 15), commemorating her being taken up to Heaven (according to the legend) after rising from the dead; 5. the Nativity (Sept. 8), commemorating her birth; 6. the Presentation (Nov. 21), commemorating her being presented to God in the Temple; 7. her Immaculate Conception by her Mother (Dec. 8), the universal law, "In sin did my mother conceive me," being supposed (without the slightest shadow of a ground) to be in her case reversed.

Of these the Reformed Church of England (with great wisdom) recognises in her Services only the two oldest *, the Purification and Annunciation, dating respectively from the sixth and fifth centuries. She might also have retained the Visitation, the incident commemorated being Scriptural, and having a prominence given to it in St. Luke's Gospel; but as Christ Himself was not so much the central object of interest here as in the two others, and as the Virgin had already two Festivals to one of every other Scriptural Saint, it was resolved to discard this also. Nor was the Purification retained without a very significant (and, considering the past experience of the Church, a very necessary) hint that here too He was the chief object of interest. For the name given to the Festival in the heading of the Collect is, "The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, commonly called, The Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin," as if the former designation gave the truer idea of the Festival, and the latter was only retained because long custom had sanctioned it. In this respect our Reformers followed the example of the Eastern Church, which had the same Festival under the name Ὑπαπαντή, Ἑορτὴ τῆς Ὑπάντης, the Festival of the Meeting, because, as on this day, Simeon and Anna met and greeted the Infant Saviour in the Temple.

The name Candlemas Day, as well as the passage of the Sermon before us, will be best illustrated by an extract from Blunt's Annotated Book of Common Prayer. Part I. p. 131, &c.

"The popular name of this Festival (Candlemas Day) perpetuates the memory of a very ancient custom, that of walking in procession with tapers,

* For she retains also as Black Letter Days the Visitation (July 2), the Nativity (Sept. 8), and the Conception (*not* the *Immaculate*.Conception) (Dec. 8). Of the last of these, Blunt (Annotated Book of Common Prayer) says; "It may be regarded as celebrating the joyful dawn of the Incarnation of our Lord, without any particular reference to the novel doctrine" (of the *Immaculate* Conception).

it is written; *The wife is prepared by God for her husband;* and the Lord commandeth in the Gospel, *What God hath joined together let no man put asunder.* Behold all of you are carrying candles[o], and like faith- Rev. xxi. 2. St. Matt. xix. 6.

and singing hymns. In a Homily on the Purification Alcuin says (A.D. 790), 'The whole multitude of the city, collecting together devoutly, celebrate the solemnity of the Mass, bearing a vast number of wax lights; and no one enters any public place in the city without a taper in his hand.' St. Bernard also (A.D. 1153) gives the following description of the practice as carried out in his day:—

"'We go in procession, two by two, carrying candles in our hands, which are lighted, not at a common fire, but at a fire first blessed in the church by a Bishop. They that go out first return last; and in the way we sing, *Great is the glory of the Lord.* We go two by two, in commendation of charity and a social life; for so our Saviour sent out His disciples. We carry lights in our hands; first, to signify that our light should shine before men; 2dly, this we do especially in memory of the Wise Virgins (of whom this blessed Virgin is the chief) who went to meet their Lord with their lamps lit and burning. And from this usage and the many lights set up in the church this day, it is called Candelaria or Candlemas. Because our works should be all done in the holy fire of charity, therefore the candles are lit with holy fire. They that go out first return last, to teach humility, *in honour preferring one another.* Because God loveth a cheerful giver, therefore we sing in the way. The procession itself is to teach us that we should not stand idle in the way of life, but go *from strength to strength,* not looking back to that which is behind, but reaching forward to that which is before.'"

Another reason for the lighting of candles on this Festival, which Bernard has omitted, is that Simeon's song was sung on this day, which celebrates Christ as a light to lighten the Gentiles. Here is a rubrical direction for this Festival from the "Use of Sarum."

"Before the Procession candles are blessed and distributed; during which the following Antiphon is sung.

Ant. A light to lighten the Gentiles: and to be the glory of Thy people Israel.

Ps. Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace: according to Thy word.

Ant. A light, &c.

For mine eyes have seen: Thy salvation.

Ant. A light.

Which Thou hast prepared: before the face of all people.

Ant. A light.

Glory be. A light. As it was. A light."

The recurrence of the words, "A light," &c., in the Antiphon, shews that the lights were quite a feature of the Service. (Walker's "Use of Sarum," translated, p. 277.)

naria. et velut fidelis symeon lumen defertis in templum domini. set deus delectatur luminaribus
f. 222, b. cordium. et iis que a vera luce illuminantur. Unde evangelista. Erat lux vera que illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. Fugite fraudes. et periuria vestra. Odit deus vestrarum nundinas[p] falsitatum. quibus illaqueatis innocentes. Nulla vobis dominetur libido. quoniam adulteros et fornicatores iudicabit deus. Adest virgo. mater misericordiæ. quæ vobis præcinit vivendi modum. Hoc nomine clementissima virgo maria cuidam languenti se revelavit. Ad quem cum accessisset et medicantis forma languentis pectori manum apposuisset? quesivit languens que esset. cuius venerabili tactu sua infirmitas tam cito deperiret. et artuum debilitas repente convalesceret. Cui illa. Ego inquit sum mater misericordiæ. Quo dicto eger convaluit. et beatissima virgo sua se in gloria recollegit. Certe fra-

[p] See note c, p. 94.

[q] "leadeth you, as chief of the singers, in your manner of life"—*præcinit modum vitæ.* The classical reader will not fail to observe Herbert's play on the word *modus.* The Virgin, he says, sets the example of a Christian's way of life. But he expresses this thought by a metaphor drawn from the office of a Precentor, who leads the singing in a Psalm or Hymn. So he uses the word *modus,* which means not only manners, but a mode in music—as the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian *modes.* In Greek the Virgin would have been said to give the κέλευσμα in Christian life; κέλευσμα being the call of the κελευστής, or member of the crew whose part it was to give the time to the rowers.

[r] "I am the Mother of Mercy." The learned Dr. Husenbeth (of Costessey) has favoured us with the following note upon this title of the Blessed Virgin;

"The title of *Mater Misericordiæ,* given to the Blessed Virgin Mary, appears first, as far as I know, in the well-known Antiphon, *Salve Regina, Mater Misericordiæ.* The author of it is generally believed to have been Hermannus Contractus, who died in 1054."

ful Simeon ye bring a light into the Temple of the Lord; but it is in the candles of the hearts that God delighteth, and in those [hearts] which are lightened by the true Light. Whence saith the Evangelist; *That was the true Light, which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world.* Flee ye then from defrauding and the false swearing, [which is your wont]. God hateth the exchanges wherein ye deal falsely [every man with his brother], and wherewith ye snare the simple. Let no lust have dominion over you, because fornicators and adulterers God will judge. The Virgin, the Mother of Mercy, is present with you, who leadeth you (as a chief of the singers[q]) in your manner of life. Under this name the most gracious Virgin Mary manifested herself to a certain sick man. When she had approached unto him, and in the disguise of a physician had laid her hand upon the breast of the sick man, he enquired who it was by whose reverend touch his disease wasted away so quickly, and his weak limbs suddenly gathered strength. To whom she answered, I am the Mother[r] of Mercy. Whereupon the sick man was made per-

St. John i. 9.

Heb. xiii. 4.

We subjoin a translation of the Antiphon in question, which the Roman Rite appoints to be used from Trinity to Advent;

"Hail, Queen, [and] Mother of Mercy; our life, our sweetness and our hope, hail. Unto Thee we cry, the banished children of Eve, unto Thee we sigh, groaning and wailing in this valley of tears. Come then, our Advocate, bend thou upon us those merciful eyes [of thine], and shew unto us, after this banishment of ours, Jesus the blessed fruit of thy womb, O gracious, O loving, O sweet Virgin Mary."

Hermannus Contractus was so called from the circumstance of his limbs being contracted with palsy, which caused him to be carried from place to place. He was a Benedictine monk of the monastery of Reichenau in Suabia, and learned in Latin, Greek, Arabic, theology, history, astronomy, philosophy, rhetoric, and poetry. He flourished about 1040; and it will be observed that he died nearly about the time of the birth of our author, who, like him, was a Benedictine monk.

The Antiphon *Salve Regina* has however been attributed to different Authors, among others to St. Bernard, who is said to have heard angels chanting it*, and to have transcribed and transmitted it to Pope Eugenius,

* The story is given in John the Eremite's life of Bernard, lib. ii. sec. 7. (Opp., tom. ii. col. 1304). The holy man when sleeping, with a few of his monks around him, heard the angels singing the praises of God and the Virgin in the church. He rose and went

tres tenebræ sunt peccatorum corda. set lux in tenebris lucet. et tenebræ eam non comprehenderunt Deus lux est. ut ait Iohannes apostolus et tenebre in eo sunt nullæ. Lux ista fulget in reprobis. fulget in electis. sed in reprobis per iudicium. in electis per misericordiam. Iuxta illud prophetæ. Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi Domine. Et alibi. Deus meus misericordia mea. Ecce fratres vocibus pauperum clamat Christus ad ianuas vestras. colligite egentem Christum. ne exhorreatis iudicem opulentum. cum venerit iudicare vivos et mortuos. Salvator mundi dominus Ihesus Christus qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat per omnia sæcula sæculorum. AMEN.

who prescribed its usage in all the churches. Eugenius was Pope in 1145, twenty-six years after Herbert's death. On any supposition, the Antiphon seems to have originated about his time. It bears the name of *Antiphona de Podio*, because one of the reputed authors to whom it is ascribed was Ademar (or Haimar), Bishop of Podium (le Puy, in France). (*Cave's Historia Literaria*, Sæc. Hildebrand, An. 1040, vol. ii. p. 132. Ducange, sub voc. *Antiphona de Podio.*)

Bernard himself thus speaks of the *mercy* of the Virgin in terms which we cannot but regard as a sad infringement of the Divine Prerogative.

thither softly, desiring to see what was going on. He saw the Blessed Virgin Mary between two Angels, one of whom held a censer, the other incense. One of the angels signalled him to follow to the Altar, which he did, walking on the Virgin's right hand. There he heard the Antiphon, "Salve Regina," sung through by an Angel's voice, and laid it up in his memory, and placed it before the Pope, and gained his sanction for its introduction into the churches.

fectly whole, and the most blessed Virgin withdrew herself again into her own glory.

Certainly, my brethren, the hearts of sinners are darkness; but *the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. God is Light,* as the Apostle John saith; *and in Him is no darkness at all.* That Light shineth in the reprobate, it shineth also in the elect, but in the reprobate in the way of judgment, in the elect in the way of mercy, according to that word of the prophet; *Of mercy and judgment will I sing unto Thee, O Lord.* And elsewhere he saith; *My God is my mercy.* Behold, brethren, Christ in the voices of the poor is crying at your doors. Shelter ye the needy Christ, lest ye should have to dread the rich Judge, when He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Our Lord Jesus Christ is the Saviour of the world, Who with the Father and the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth, world without end. Amen.

St. John i. 5. 1 St. John i. 5. Ps. ci. 1. Ps. lix. 17.

(In Assump. B. V. M. Serm. iv. 8. Opp., I. col. 1011, F.) "Who, O blessed one, can search out the length and breadth, the height and depth, of thy mercy? For its length succoureth all those who call upon it, even unto the last day. Its breadth filleth the universe, so that all the earth is full of thy mercy. So also its height hath found out a way of restoring the Heavenly City, and its depth hath obtained redemption for those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death. For by thee heaven is filled, hell is emptied, the ruins of the heavenly Jerusalem are raised up, and everlasting life, which was lost, is given to the wretched ones who wait for it."

This glowing description is perfectly true of "the Love of Christ, which passeth knowledge" (see Eph. iii. 18, 19); and it is deeply to be regretted that the passage of Scripture on which it is founded should receive any other application.

IV.

Title in red letters.

SERMO

IN .IIII$^{\text{ta}}$. FERIA ANTE QUADRAGESIMAM.

Cum ieiunatis nolite fieri sicut ypocrite tristes.
f. 222 b, col. 2. exterminant enim facies* suas ut appareant hominibus ieiunantes. Amen dico vobis? receperunt

* "for they disfigure their faces"—ἀφανίζουσι γὰρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν—*exterminant enim facies suas.*

Our Authorized Translation of ἀφανίζουσι τὰ πρόσωπα cannot be improved. In the Greek of Josephus, as Krebsius shews in a valuable note on the passage (pp. 24, 25), ἀφανίζω has the meaning of abolishing all trace of a thing, so that it cannot be recognised. In this sense it is used of the devastation of the country bordering on the cities of the Plain, and again of the destruction of the features of a country by cutting down the trees and shrubs and filling it with stones. In this very chapter of St. Matthew (vi. 20) it is used of the wasting and disfigurement of cloth or metal by moth or rust. To cause to vanish, make to disappear, is of course the primary sense; (in James iv. 14 it is applied to the vanishing away of a vapour;) but this may be not only by annihilation or dispersion (as in the case of the vapour) but by obliteration of former features. In the passage before us, then, it signifies to disguise or disfigure the countenance by leaving on it the traces of tears, sprinkling ashes over the head and face, letting the beard grow, and generally cultivating an unkempt appearance.

The Vulgate translation of ἀφανίζω, *extermino*, is by no means so easily explained. The same word, however, is translated in the same way in the passage of St. James (iv. 15); "Quæ est vita vestra? vapor est ad modicum parens, et deinceps *exterminabitur* (ἀφανιζομένη). But in the other two instances of its occurrence in the New Testament we have quite different, and more accurate renderings; in Acts xiii. 41, *disperdor* ("Videte, contemptores, et admiramini, et *disperdimini*"—ἀφανίσθητε); and in Matt. vi. 19, 20, *demolior* ("ubi ærugo et tinea *demolitur*"—ἀφανίζει).

In the Vulgate as we have it at present, the word *extermino* is used of the *destruction* of the accursed nations before the children of Israel (Amos ii. 9, and 1 Kings ix. 21); of the *wasting* or *rooting up* of a vine by a boar out of a wood (Ps. lxxix. 14); of God's *cutting off* the prey of Nineveh from the earth (Na. ii. 13); as the Latin equivalent of the Hebrew Abaddon and the Greek Apollyon (Rev. ix. 11); of God's *destruction* of those who should destroy the earth (Rev. xi. 18); of the *cutting off* of evil doers (Ps. xxxvi.

IV.

A SERMON

ON THE WEDNESDAY BEFORE LENT. .

When ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, sad. For they disfigure[a] *their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily, I say unto you, they have received their reward.* St. Matt. vi. 16.

9); of the *cutting off* from the people of those who made an imitation of the holy anointing oil (Exod. xxx. 33), and so Num. ix. 13; and of the *destruction* from among the people of those who would not hear the Great Prophet (Acts iii. 23)—twelve passages in all, that from St. Matthew, which we are illustrating, and that from St. James being counted in.

In the Vulgate version of the *Apocryphal* Scriptures the word occurs twenty-five times; out of which twenty-five texts the Books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, 1 and 2 Maccabees, and Baruch contain just twenty. Now, in reference to the passage we are about to quote from Jerome, it is to be observed that those five Books form that part of the present Vulgate *which Jerome did not even revise*, and which we have therefore in the unrevised old Latin Version current in the Church at a very early period. Hence Jerome is not responsible for the translation of those five Books, and takes the liberty in the case before us to censure the translation. (By Ecclesiastical Scriptures he means those which are not canonical—as we should call them, Apocryphal Books.)

"The word *exterminare*, so often used in the Ecclesiastical Scriptures through a blunder of the translators, has [here] a quite different meaning from that in which it is commonly understood. It is properly said of exiles who are sent beyond the boundary of their country. Instead of this word it would seem better to use the word *demoliri, to destroy*, in translating the Greek ἀφανίζειν. The hypocrite destroys his face, in order that he may feign sorrow, and with a heart full of joy, wears sorrow in his countenance." (Jerome, Opp., iv. 21.)

Maldonatus considers that Jerome's rendering *demoliuntur* is not altogether satisfactory. Hilary's word, *conficiunt*, (which must be taken in the sense of "they waste," "they consume,") he thinks is better. What the hypocrites did, he says, with his usual point, is the opposite of what ladies do when they use rouge. (Maldon, Comm. in quatuor Evangg., i. 204, in Matt. vi. 16.)

How ἀφανίζω came in the Old Latin Version to be represented by *exter-*

mercedem suam. Attendite dilectissimi fratres verba dominica. et ex eorum admonitione vestra colorate ieiunia. Amat Deus ieiunia. amat elemosinas vestras. set si eas simplex præcesserit intentio. Unde alibi dicit. Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex. totum corpus tuum lucidum erit. Si vero nequam fuerit? totum etiam corpus tenebrosum erit. Et apostolus. Si distribuero inquit omnes facultates meas in cibos pauperum. caritatem autem non habeam. nichil mihi prodest. Ieiunant Christiani ieiunant et pagani. ieiunant iudei. ieiunant heretici et scismatici. ieiunant hypocrite. ieiunant et carnales Christiani. Eadem actio. set ieiunantium dispar affectus. Christiani ieiunant ut carnem castigent. et spiritum roborent. Pagani vero et cetere supradicte pestes ieiunant ut carnem impinguent. et suum spiritum suffocent. Ieiunant ad oculos hominum. et false religionis nundinas[c]

mino, there is no saying. Very likely *extermino* is a scribe's blunder for some Latin word of rather similar sound which was a more exact equivalent of *ἀφανίζω*. But it will amuse the reader to see how out of an avowedly wrong rendering our author gets, lower down, a good practical application.

[b] On special occasions public fasts were ordered at Rome. Thus in Livy xxxvi. 37, it is mentioned that in consequence of certain prodigies which disturbed the public mind, the decemviri, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, consulted the Sibylline books, and were directed to institute a fast to Ceres, and to cause the same to be observed every fifth year; and in Horace the superstitious folly of a mother is exposed, who vows that if her child is recovered from a quartan ague by Jupiter, he should stand naked in the Tiber on the morning of the day when a fast is proclaimed to that god. (Sat. ii. 3, 291.) There was a fast to Demeter also in the course of the Greek Thesmophoria. "The second day, called *νηστεία*, was a day of mourning, during which the women sat on the ground around the statue of Demeter, and took no other food than cakes made of sesame and honey." (Smith's Dictionary of Ant.)

[c] "falsæ religionis *nundinas* exercentes." And so in Sermon III. "odit Deus vestrarum *nundinas* falsitatum."

The word *nundinæ* (quasi novemdinæ) means in the classical writers the

Give heed, dearly beloved brethren, to the Lord's words, and let your fasting be after the fashion which He enjoins. God loves fasting, he loves your alms-givings, but only if a single intent go before. Whence he says in another place; *If thy eye be single, thy whole body shall be lightsome. But if thy eye be evil, thy whole body also shall be darksome.* And the Apostle saith; *If I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor, ... and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.* Christians fast; Heathens[b] also fast; the Jews fast; Heretics and Schismatics fast; Hypocrites fast; and carnal Christians fast. The act is one and the same in all; but the affection of the doer different. Christians fast that they may chastise the flesh, and strengthen the spirit. Heathens, and the other pestilent fellows aforesaid, fast in order that they may make the flesh wanton, and stifle their spirit. They fast to the eyes of men, and making an open show of their false de-

St. Matt. vi. 22, 23.

1 Cor. xiii. 3.

ninth day, on which the country folks came up to Rome to bring their produce to market, and have their disputes settled. Hence, even in classical Latin, the word came to mean the market or fair held on such days, and more generally, sale or traffic of any kind. In later Latin, the word is frequently used to signify the great fairs of the Middle Ages. But it was also applied to Tournaments, and such like trials of military skill, probably from the concourse of people which such spectacles attracted, and the fair-like aspect which they wore. Ducange gives a decree of Pope Eugenius (A.D. 824—827), in which he utterly, and on pain of anathema, forbids the rash audacity of many who "*for the display of their own strength* are wont to come together by appointment to these detestable Tournaments (ad detestabiles Nundinas)," and sentences those who should die at a tournament to deprivation of rites of burial. It is with this last meaning that Herbert's use of the word in this place connects itself. The sense of it seems to be "parade or exhibition before the eyes of men." In the next Sermon (on Palm Sunday) it seems to mean simply *markets;* "Fugite fraudulentorum negotiorum nundinas," *Flee ye the markets where there be deceitful dealings.* And in the Sermon on Easter Day; "[Judas] exivit, et pecuniam accepit, et Dominum prodidit, vili nundinatus pretio" —*having bartered him away at a low price.*

It is a curious instance of the transition of a word to a meaning very remote from that which originally belonged to it, that St. Bernard, as quoted by Ducange, applies the word (maledictas illas *nundinas*) to *bonâ fide* civil war. In this application of it, the notion of display is altogether dropped. (See Ducange, *sub voce.*)

exercentes. humilitatis oleum minime in vasis suis ferunt. Unde subditur. Amen dico vobis? receperunt mercedem suam. Exterminant enim facies suas. ut appareant hominibus ieiunantes. Et bene dicti exterminant facies suas. quoniam qui in veritatis soliditate non consistunt. extra patriam imaginis et similitudinis dei. suas animas exilio dissimilitudinis infeliciter affligunt. Ieiunant ut prædiximus infideles ad aspectus hominum. set vane glorie inflati tipo[d]. nullum divine retributionis
f. 223. fructum consequuntur. De quibus propheta isaias. Ecce inquit in die ieiunii vestri invenitur voluntas vestra. et omnes debitores vestros repetitis. Ecce ad lites et contentiones ieiunatis. et percutitis pugno impie. Numquit hoc est ieiunium quod elegi dicit dominus. absit ea dicenda ieiunia Dei? que iurgia et discordie comitantur. Nonne hoc est. magis ieiunium quod elegi? Dissolve colligationes impietatis. solve fasciculos deprimentes. Dimitte eos qui confracti sunt liberos. et omne onus dirumpe. Frange esurienti panem tuum. et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam. Cum videris nudum operi eum. et carnem tuam ne despexeris. Unde dominus. Thesaurizate inquit vobis thesauros in celo. ubi neque erugo. neque tinea demolitur. et ubi fures non effodiunt nec furantur. Attendite fratres. quanta subtilitate concludat divini eloquii cautela vestras cupiditates. Hec sunt que vestris conservantur thesauris. Gemme. aurum. argentum. preciose vestes. Sed

[d] "vanæ gloriæ tipo." The word *tipus* is not found in classical Latin. It is the Greek word τῦφος (meaning *smoke* or *cloud* in the first instance, and then *pride*, because pride *darkens* the intellect) transferred into the Latin, the aspirate of the φ being dropped, and the υ represented by *i* instead of *y*. Ducange, however, traces another method in which the mean-

votion, carry no oil of humility in the vessels [of their hearts]. Whence it is added; *Verily I say unto you, they have received their reward; for they banish their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast.* And rightly are they said to banish their faces[c], since those who abide not in the sound Faith, and wander, as it were, out of the country of the Image and Likeness of God, miserably afflict their own souls by their banishment, that is to say, by being unlike Him. Unbelievers, as we said above, fast in the sight of men; but puffed up with the pride of vainglory, reap no fruit of Divine recompence [therefrom]. Concerning whom the Prophet Isaiah saith, *Behold in the day of your fast your own will is found, and you exact of all your debtors. Behold you fast for debates and strife, and strike with the fist wickedly. . . . . Is this such a fast as I have chosen, saith the Lord?* (far be those fasts from being called fasts of God, which are accompanied by quarrels and strifes!) *Is not this rather the fast that I have chosen? Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the bundles that oppress, let them that are broken go free, and break asunder every burden. Deal thy bread to the hungry, and bring the needy and the harbourless into thy house: when thou shalt see one naked, cover him, and despise not thy own flesh.* Whence the Lord saith; *Lay up for yourselves treasures in Heaven, where neither rust nor moth doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal.*

Isa. lviii. 3, &c.

St. Matt. vi. 20.

Observe, brethren, how thoroughly this divinely uttered warning puts an end to your covetousness. These be the things which are laid up in your treasure houses;

ing of *pride* is arrived at. He speaks of typhus, as an herb which absorbs and swells with the water, and in its turgid state gives the notion of the swellings of pride. One meaning, which the word bears in mediæval writers, is an *access of fever*, a meaning which is still retained among us in the name of that dreaded complaint,—"typhus fever."

[c] See note a, p. 90, *in fin.*

gemme furibus asportantur. aurum vero et argentum rubigo demolitur. et tinea corrumpuntur vestes. non igitur thesauris custodiendis claustra sufficiunt terrena. que tantarum iniuriarum patent aditibus. Res quidem amabilis et delectabilis thesaurus. set qui erogatur in pauperibus. eternaliter conservatur in celis. Munitus locus. et rei excellentia. et beatorum spirituum custodia. Ibi igitur cor ibi vestram collocate pecuniam. quo fur non ascendit. et ubi nichil rubigo demolitur. neque tinea corrumpit. Congruunt euangelio. iohelis vaticinia. Convertimini inquit
f. 223, col. 2. ad me in toto corde vestro in ieiunio et fletu. et planctu. et scindite corda vestra et non vestimenta vestra. et convertimini ad dominum deum vestrum. quia benignus et misericors est. paciens et multum misericors? prestabilis[f] super maliciam. Et infra. Canite tuba in sion sanctificate ieiunium. coadunate senes congregate parvulos. et suggentes ubera. Sanctificate inquit ieiunium. Sanctificat ieiunium. qui turpi ab aspectu lascivientes oculos claudit. Sanctificat ieiunium. qui linguam refrenat. gulam suspendit. ne ingurgitatione esce. vel potus suum inquinetur corpus. Sanctificat ieiunium. qui libidinem reprimit. iracundiam suffocat. avariciam extirpat. superbiam domat. Sanctificat ieiunium qui fidem conservat. caritatem nutrit. prudentia viget. vitia temperat.

[f] "prestabilis." This word occurs nowhere else in the Vulgate. The scribe has written "prestabilis super malici*am*;" but the Vulgate has the ablative, "super maliti*á*." *Præstabilis* means *excellent*, and the meaning of the whole phrase must be, "excellent in regard of evil." The Douay renders rather loosely, "ready to repent,"—readiness to repent of the evil,

jewels, gold, silver, costly raiment: but jewels are carried off by thieves; gold and silver are cankered by rust; and raiment is corrupted by the moth. Earthly bolts and bars therefore, which lie open to the approach of such injuries, suffice not for the keeping of your treasures. Treasure is indeed a thing to be loved and delighted in; but that which is spent upon the poor is laid up eternally in the Heavens. And the Heavens be a fenced stronghold, both in respect of the excellence of the thing laid up there, and in respect also of its being in the keeping of the blessed spirits. There then set your heart, there place out your money on usury, where the thief climbeth not up, and where rust cankereth nothing, nor the moth corrupteth. With the Gospel agree the Prophecies of Joel; *Be converted to Me with all your heart, in fasting, and in weeping, and in mourning. And rend your hearts, and not your garments, and turn to the Lord your God: for He is gracious and merciful, patient and rich in mercy, and ready to repent of the evil.* And below; *Blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather together the people, sanctify the Church, assemble the ancients, gather together the little ones, and them that suck at the breasts. Sanctify a fast,* saith He; He sanctifieth a fast, who shuts the wandering eyes from lascivious gaze. He sanctifieth a fast, who bridleth the tongue, and holdeth his appetite in check, lest his body should be defiled by surfeiting or drunkenness. He sanctifieth a fast, who restraineth his lust, quelleth his anger, rooteth out his covetousness, tameth his pride. He sanctifieth a fast, who preserveth faith, nurseth charity, excelleth in prudence, restraineth evil passions, endureth adversity, and in the daily dealings of citizen with citizen,

Joel ii. 12, 13.

Joel ii. 15, 16.

which He has brought upon men, being the form in which God's excellence shows itself in respect of that evil. The Hebrew word is נִחָם, from the root נָחַם, *he groaned, sighed, compassionated, repented.* This is accurately rendered by the Septuagint μετανοῶν, and by the Authorized Version "that repenteth Him of the evil."

adversa tolerat et civili conversatione fratri congruum reddit obsequium. Sanctificat ieiunium. qui fide sperat. et spe promissam assequitur veritatem. Sanctificat ieiunium qui cibum esurienti largitur. sitientem potat. peregrinum hospicio colligit. nudum vestit. infirmum visitat. incarceratum solvit. Postremo sanctificat ieiunium. qui ignita luxurie restringit (*sic*) iacula. et oris loquacitate corporisve passionibus resecatis. mentem purgat e suggestionibus. et ab omni sordidorum cogitatuum inquinamento. Hec sunt Christianorum ieiunia. cessare a peccatis. et sanctis florere virtutibus. Ieiunavit Moyses. et xl. dierum abstinentia legem promeruit iudeorum. Ieiunavit helias. et igneo curru raptus. necdum nostrum sentit interitum. Ieiunavit salvator? et de iniquo triumphans hoste. in ara crucis suum corpus obtulit holocastum. et sui effusione cruoris universum
f. 223 b. redemit mundum. Ieiunaverunt apostoli.* et decima post ascensionem dominicam die spiritu sancto repleti sunt. Inde ignis et lingue apostolorum et sonus eorum in omnem terram exivit. et in finibus orbis terre verba eorum. Ieiunat ecclesia. et quod sibi subtrahat. pauperibus erogat. et vili pretio celeste mercatur regnum. Ita et vos dilectissimi fratres ieiunatis. sed utinam ad virorum[h] animarum resurrectionem. Mors anime? peccatum est. resurrectio penitentia peccati. Unde

[g] "hath never yet tasted"—*necdum nostrum sentit interitum.* Observe the "never yet," the mediæval notion being that Enoch and Elijah would be the two Witnesses of the Revelation, who should ultimately be killed. See Serm. II., note a, p. 64.

[h] "ad virorum animarum resurrectionem." So in the MS. *Virorum* must be a copyist's error for *vestrarum.*

rendereth unto his brother the honour which is his due. He sanctifieth a fast, who by faith conceiveth the hope of, and by hope attaineth to, the true promise of the Gospel. He sanctifieth a fast, who giveth meat to the hungry, and drink to the thirsty, who taketh in the stranger under his roof, clotheth the naked, visiteth the sick, looseth the prisoner. Finally he sanctifieth a fast, who quencheth the fiery darts of lasciviousness, and who pruning down the talkativeness of the tongue, or the appetites of the body, purgeth his spirit from evil motions, and from every defilement of filthy thoughts. These in brief are the fasts of Christians, to cease from sin, and to grow in every holy grace.

Moses fasted; and in recompence of his forty days' abstinence the law of the Jews was given to him. Elias fasted; and being caught up to Heaven in a chariot of fire, hath never yet tasted[g] a death like ours. Our Saviour fasted; and triumphing over the unrighteous enemy, offered up His own Body a whole burnt-offering on the altar of the Cross, and by the shedding of His Blood redeemed the whole world. The Apostles fasted; and on the tenth day after the Lord's Ascension they were filled with the Holy Ghost. Thence came the Apostles' tongues of fire; and *their sound hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words into the ends of the world.* Ps. xviii. 5 (Douay). The Church fasteth, and what she deprives herself of, she layeth out upon the poor, and thus buyeth the Heavenly Kingdom at a cheap price. So ye also fast, dearly beloved brethren;—would God that it may be to the resurrection of your souls. Sin is the soul's death; penance is the resurrection from sin. Whence the Lord saith; *Do penance*[1]*: for the Kingdom*

[1] We subjoin the note upon this passage given in the Douay version, as the view of *Pœnitentia* set forth in it (a view which members of the Reformed Church do not accept) explains Herbert's introduction of the passage in this connexion. "*Do penance*, 'Pœnitentiam agite'—μετανοεῖτε, which word, according to the use of the Scriptures and the holy Fathers, does not only signify repentance and amendment of life, but also punishing past sins by fasting and such like penitential exercises."

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dominus. Agite inquit penitentiam. appropinquabit (*sic*) enim regnum celorum. Et iohannes baptista. Agite penitentiam. et rectas facite semitas dei vestri. Iam enim securis ad radicem arboris posita est. Et omnis arbor que non facit fructum bonum. excidetur et in ignem mittetur. Adest medicine tempus. et vestrarum remittendarum culparum. divina festinat miseratio. Vestra humiliantur capita. et sacri superponuntur cineres.

[k] "The ancient ecclesiastical name given to the first day of Lent is *Caput Jejunii*, and the popular name of Ash-Wednesday has been acquired by it from the custom of blessing ashes made from the palms distributed on the Palm Sunday of the preceding year, and signing the cross with them on the heads of those who knelt before the officiating minister for the purpose, while he said, 'Remember, Man, that thou art dust, and unto dust shalt thou return.' Our Commination Service is an adaptation of this rite." (Blunt's Annotated Book of Common Prayer, p. 91.)

The Service for the Benediction of the Ashes consisted of a Collect, the sprinkling of the ashes, another Collect, the distribution of the ashes, and an anthem sung while the latter was going on. We subjoin an English Version of these Collects (according to the rite of Sarum), placing side by side with them such portions of our English Commination Service as seem to have been thence derived.

(*Before sprinkling the ashes.*)

"Almighty and everlasting God, *Who hast compassion upon all men, and hatest nothing that Thou hast made, and dost forgive the sins of them that are penitent;* Who also succourest them that are in need; vouchsafe to bl✠ess and sanc✠tify these ashes, which, after the manner of the Ninevites, Thy people bear upon their heads in token of repentance; and grant that all they who shall so bear them for the entreating of Thy mercy, may be accounted worthy to receive from Thee pardon of all their sins, and may so begin this day their holy fast that with pure minds they may be admitted to the Paschal feast, and at length may receive everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Commination Service.

"O most mighty God, and merciful Father, *Who hast compassion upon all men, and hatest nothing that Thou hast made;* Who wouldest not the death of a sinner, but that he should rather turn from his sin, and be saved; Mercifully *forgive us our trespasses;* receive and comfort us, *who are grieved and wearied with the burden of our sins.* Thy property is always to have mercy; to Thee only it appertaineth to forgive sins. Spare us therefore, good Lord, spare Thy people, whom Thou hast redeemed; enter not into judgement with Thy servants, who are vile earth, and miserable sinners; but so turn Thine anger from us, who meekly acknowledge our vileness, and truly repent us of our faults, and

of Heaven is at hand. And John the Baptist saith; *Do penance, ... and make straight the paths of your God. . . . For now the axe is laid to the root of the trees. Every tree therefore that doth not yield good fruit shall be cut down, and cast into the fire.* St. Matt. iv. 17. St. Matt. iii. 2, 3. St. Matt. iii. 10.

Now is the time of healing, and of remitting of your sins. The Divine Mercy hasteneth [towards you]. Your heads are bowed, and the sacred ashes are scattered[k] upon them. A great Sacrament[l] of humiliation, if (only)

so make haste to help us in this world, that we may ever live with Thee in the world to come; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

(*After the sprinkling of the ashes.*)

"O God, *Who desirest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live:* graciously look upon the frailty of our condition, and of Thy loving-kindness vouchsafe' to bl✠ess and sanc✠tify these ashes, which in token of humility and contrition we place on our heads; that we whom Thou hast taught that *we are but dust and ashes, and who knbw that by reason of our depravity we shall return unto dust,* may mercifully be thought worthy to obtain the pardon of all our sins, and the rewards promised to them that unfeignedly repent; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

Commination Service.

"O most mighty God . . . . *Who wouldest not the death of a sinner, but that he should rather turn from his sin, and be saved;* Mercifully forgive us our trespasses . . . .

Magnum humilitatis sacramentum. si rei presignate pura subsequatur exhibitio. Vestri corporis pars excellentissima capud (*sic*) ex quo sensus omnis. et corporeæ procreantur vires. Vestræ animæ potestas excellentissima mens. ex cujus intelligentia deus cognoscitur. et ex cujus ratione rerum omnium natura discernitur. Mens igitur vestra diligenter attendat. ex qua materiâ formi† estis. et ad quem habitum pervenistis. Honeratis[m] argento. et auro. et gemmis. et palliis membra vestra. set corruptibile. et mortale est. corpus vestrum. Fulgetis peregrino apparatu. sed vestra caro post pauca futura est cadaver. et cadaver? putredo. et putredo vermis. et vermis terra. His (*sic*) finis communis et principium (*sic*). et privatorum. quem etsi dissimulant scire potentes huius seculi. finem tamen ad eundem convertuntur omnes. Is fratres cinis superponatur menti vestre. et iugi memoria de ultimis cogitate vestris. Deo gratias. ingemuistis. veritatem intellexistis. exclamastis. lacrimas fudistis. et christiana humilitate absolutionem nostram postulatis. Nostra quidem facienda est absolutio. sed penitentia et vestra

† "ati" added in margin in another hand.

f. 223 b, col. 2.

"Almighty and merciful God, we beseech Thee that *the Sacraments which we have received* may purify us; and by the intercession of all Thy Saints grant unto us that *this Thy Sacrament* may not be unto us for the increase of our guilt and punishment, but a salutary pleading for the obtaining of pardon: may it be a washing away of sins, may it be a strengthening of the weak, may it be a defence against all the perils of the world, may it be a remission of all the transgressions of the faithful, both quick and dead. Through the Lord." (Paroissien Romain, Mercredi des Cendres, p. 279.)

[m] See Sermon II., note a, p. 34.

[n] "ye have craved absolution from us."

"Penitents, after their canonical penance was completed, were generally absolved about the time of the Paschal festival; and therefore it is

a sincere performance of the thing signified follows. The most excellent part of your body is the head, from which every sense and the powers of the body are derived. The most excellent faculty of your soul is the mind, from whose understanding cometh the knowledge of God, and by the exercise of whose reason the nature of all things is discerned. Let your mind, then, give diligent heed to the substance whereof ye are formed, and to the fashion in which ye are found. Ye lade your members with silver, and gold, and jewels, and [gay] clothing; but your body is corruptible and mortal. Ye shine with borrowed array; but a little while, and your flesh shall become a corpse, and the corpse rottenness, and the rottenness a worm, and the worm, earth. This is the common end both of princes, and of men of low degree. And although the mighty ones of this world dissemble the knowledge of it, yet all come to the same end. Let those ashes, brethren, be laid upon your minds, and keep in perpetual remembrance your latter end. Thanks be to God, ye have groaned [over your sins], ye have understood the Truth, ye have cried out, ye have shed tears, and with Christian humbleness of mind, ye crave absolution[n] from us. Our absolution must indeed be given you; but penitence and

reasonable to suppose that the preceding time of Lent was always more strictly observed by them, as a decent preparation for the absolution they then expected. . . . Gregory Nyssen says, 'The anniversary solemnity of Easter was not only the time of regenerating catechumens, but of begetting those again to a lively hope, who had forfeited it by their sin, but were desirous to regain it by repentance and conversion from dead works, to walk again in the paths of life.' The same is intimated in the Canons of Ancyra, and those of Peter of Alexandria, and the Epistles of Cyprian, all which speak of Easter as the great and solemn time of admitting penitents, as a learned prelate of our Church (Bishop Hooper, *Of Lent*) has with great judgment and acuteness observed out of them. And thence we may infer that penitents, who were bound to strict rules of penance all the year round, and many times year after year under a long course of discipline, were more exactly careful in the observation of this season, in hopes of obtaining their absolution in the close of it." (Bingham, vol. ii. p. 1179.)

confessio necessarie sunt. Unde propheta. Declina a malo et fac bonum inquire pacem et sequere eam. Magna res episcopalis potestas. set ea eos absolvit. qui se ligant. et eos ligat qui se absolvunt. Nemo vestrum falsam prætendat justiciam. omnes enim ut ait apostolus peccaverunt. et egent gloria Dei. et evangelista. Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus. nos ipsos seducimus. et veritas in nobis non est. Qua propter his (*sic*) se ligat. qui se iustum mentitur. atque ipse se solvit. qui se reum confitetur. Nostre igitur absolutioni carissimi fratres. cognicione. penitentia. confessione. abstinentia peccandi. festinanter præparemini. quoniam non absolvuntur peccatis nisi penitentes. nec promerentur peccatorum indulgentiam. nisi ii qui eorundem peccatorum publicaverint immundiciam. Faciende confessionis. crastinum non exspectetis diem. quoniam incertum est. utrum Deus potentissimus iudex. qui vestre conversioni concessit hodiernum. concedat etiam et diem crastinum. Non abutamini divine longanimitatis pacientia. hodie cognovimus deum. hodie convertamur

"The time of absolution seems to have been fixed, in the ordinary course of discipline, to the day of our Saviour's passion, or rather the day on which he was betrayed. For so St. Ambrose says expressly, that on the day that our Lord gave Himself for us, it was usual in the Church to relax men's penance, or grant them Absolution. In the Roman Church, in the time of Pope Innocent, the custom was the same, to absolve penitents only on the Thursday before Easter." (Bingham, vol. ii. p. 1097.)

° "The authority of the Bishop." The Absolution of Penitents, after the expiration of their penance, was as a general rule performed by the Bishop himself, though it might on occasion be delegated to Presbyters.

"That all the power of discipline was primarily lodged in the hands of the Bishop, as all other offices of the Church, is a matter uncontested. . . . For the Canons always speak of the Bishop, at least in conjunction with his ecclesiastical senate, his presbytery, as cutting off offenders from the Church, and imposing penance upon them; and then again examining

confession on your part are necessary. Whence the Prophet saith; *Turn away from evil and do good: seek after peace and pursue it.* The authority of the Bishop[o] is a weighty thing, but that authority looseth those who bind themselves, and bindeth those who loose themselves. Let no one of you allege a false righteousness; for *all*, as the Apostle saith, *have sinned, and do need the glory of God.* And the Evangelist saith; *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.* Wherefore that man bindeth himself, who feigneth himself to be righteous, and he looseth himself, who pleadeth that he is guilty. Prepare yourselves, therefore, diligently for our absolution, dearly beloved brethren, by taking knowledge of your sins, by repenting of them, by confessing them, by abstaining from them, since none save penitents are absolved from their sins, nor do any earn remission of sins, save they who have published the same in all their filthiness. Wait not till the morrow to make your confession, for ye cannot know whether God the Almighty Judge, Who hath granted to-day for your conversion, will grant also the morrow. Abuse not the Divine long-suffering and patience. To-day we have come to the knowledge of God; to-day let us turn to God; to-day let us abide

Ps. xxxiii. 15, and so 1 Pet. iii. 11.

Rom. iii. 23.

1 St. John i. 8.

their proficiency, and either lengthening their penance, or moderating it by his indulgence; and finally admitting them to the Communion of the Church by Absolution. . . . But, because the necessities of the Church required in many cases that part of this burden should devolve upon others, and the Bishop was not able personally to discharge the whole of it to all that needed; therefore Presbyters, as his proper assistants, were tak en in to be sharers and fellow-labourers with him. They had a general commission to grant the great indulgence or absolution of Baptism, and that of the Eucharist, and the word and doctrine, to all that needed; and *though they were more restrained in the exercise of public discipline, and the final reconciliation of public penitents* by imposition of hands and prayer; yet the intermediate imposition of hands upon the penitents in their daily exercise was often committed to them; and by the Bishop's leave they might give the final reconciliation to public penitents, either openly in the Church, or privately on a sick bed, when necessity and the fear of imminent death required a speedier Absolution." (Bingham, vol. ii. p. 1099.)

ad deum. hodie maneamus in deo. Nulla sathane circumveniamur fraudulentia. Falsus auxiliator sathanas. et nulli (*sic*) promissum conservat patrocinium. Deus judex justus. fortis. et patiens. numquit irascitur per singulos dies. nisi conversi fue-
f. 224. ritis. gladium suum vibravit. arcum suum tetendit et peravit (*sic*) illum.

Cuidam regi. quidam adolescens carus et familiaris erat. et re vera sui deliciæ domini. adeo potens apud regem ut suis comparibus excellentior esset. et regalia negotia sue dispositionis arbitrio omnia perturbaret. Deponebat humiles. præponebat superbos. flagitiosis et sceleratis amicus. et omnibus honestis et religiosis personis inimicus. libidinum fovea. et in quem velut in sentinam. totius palatii immundicie defluerent. Hic divine animadversionis iudicio infirmatus est. et gravi laborabat egritudine. Accurrit rex? suas visitaturus delicias. et quem incolumem extra modum dilexerat. ejus infirmatis (*sic*) nullatenus oblivisci poterit (*sic*). Suadet Penitentiam. hortatur confessionem. et cujus neglector fuerat in sanitate. sue anime deprecatur saltem misereatur in infirmitate. Abnuit adolescens turpe asserens viro forti sua peccata debere confiteri timore mortis. que confiteri neglexerat seritate (*sic*) salutis. Tibi (*sic*) statur rex. et se iusto indulgentiorem adolescenti fuisse merito ingemiscebat. Abiit rex et adolescentis egritudo amplius et amplius invalescebat. et adolescens magis ac magis deficiebat. Adest rex. et deficientem consolatur. et ut puram faciat confessionem lamentosis suspiriis depreca-

in God. Let us not be snared by any device of Satan. Satan is a treacherous helper, neither doth he keep to any man the promise of protection which he hath made him. *God is a righteous judge, strong and patient: is He angry every day? except you will be converted, He will brandish His sword: He hath bent His bow, and made it ready.* Ps. vii. 12, 13.

There was a certain youth, who was the dear and familiar friend of a certain king, and in good truth the delight of his lord. So powerful was he with the king, that he was more honourable than all his fellows, and threw into confusion all the king's affairs, at the mere pleasure of his will. He put down the humble; he set up the proud; he shewed himself a friend to the vile and wicked, and an enemy to all honest and devout persons; a pitfall to take men in diverse lusts, and one who drew to himself, as into the draught, the filthiness of all the palace. The young man was stricken with sickness by the judgment of God, and laboured under a grievous disease. The king came hastily to visit him who was his delight, and could in no wise forget in time of sickness him whom in health he had loved overmuch. He counselleth penance; he exhorteth to confession, and beseecheth him to have pity, at least in sickness, on his own soul, for which in health he had taken no care. The youth refused, affirming that it was a base thing for a brave man to confess his sins through fear of death, which he had not cared to confess in the calm of safety. The king was sad, and justly grieved that he had shewn the young man more favour than was meet. He departed; and the young man's sickness became sorer daily; and more and more he failed. The king came and consoled him in his languishing, and entreated him with lamentations and sighs that he would make a pure confession. The youth answered;

tur. Cui adolescens. Tui adventus presentiam duo modo præcesserunt adolescentes. induti albis gemmis et auro adornatis vestibus adeo speciosi ut
fol. 224, col. 2. eorum forma excellentior omni mortali* pulcritudine videatur. Ii parvum attulerunt libellum aureis litteris inscriptum. et meo pectori superposuerunt. Legi. et omnia bona quæ fecerim adnotata repperi. Set quota hec? Gutta. Ad pelagus meæ iniquitatis. Suum receperunt librum. et meæ assistunt dextre. meorum eventuum exspectantes finem. Post hos supervenit immundorum exercitus spirituum. domum istam horribilibus formis interius impleverunt? ex exterius hostili obsidione et intolerabili ullatu (*sic*) cinxerunt. In oculis eorum flamme. et in dentibus albedo. et in toto corpore teterrima apparet (*sic*) nigredo. manus ungulate. et pedes ungulati. dirus anelitus. et sermo humanis auribus intolerabilis. enormis magnitudinis. tetrum attulerunt librum. et super pectus meum posuerunt. Legi mea flagicia. et totius vite mee obscenitates invenio. Despero de divina misericordia. despero de indulgentia. his alligor dominis quibus servivi. et proprie conscientie iudicio condempnatus sum. Duo assistunt mihi carnifices. alter ad caput. et alter ad pedes. singulis moveribus (*sic*) membra et viscera mea conterentes. Exspirabo? cum pervenerint ad cor? et meam infelicem animam eorum tradam potestati. Hec dicens exspiravit. et cassam querimoniam vera subsecuta est miseria. Regi putridum sui amatoris relictum est cadaver. et infelicem animam inmundi spiritus asportaverunt. Horretis ne dilectissimi fratres divine animadversionis occulta

"Just now, before thy coming, there visited me two youths clad in white raiment, which was adorned with jewels and gold, so exceeding fair that their form seemed more excellent than all the beauty of men. They brought a little book, writ in letters of gold, and laid it upon my breast. I read it, and found noted therein all the good things which I had ever done. But how many be these? Verily a drop in the sea of mine iniquity. They took back their book, and [now] stand at my right hand, expecting till my last event shall arrive. Next after them came a host of unclean spirits, and filled this house with horrible forms within, while without they laid siege against it round about, and encompassed it with howlings not to be endured. Flames were in their eyes, and in their teeth whiteness, and in their whole body a noisome blackness appeared; their hands had claws, and their feet had claws; pestilent was their breath; and their speech not to be endured by human ears; and of exceeding great stature were they. They brought a loathsome book, and laid it upon my breast. I have read my wickednesses, and find therein the shameful sins of my whole life. I despair of the Divine Mercy; I despair of pardon; I am bound hand and foot by the masters whom I have served, and condemned by the sentence of my own conscience. Two tormentors stand by me, one at my head, the other at my feet, bruising my limbs and inwards each of them with coulters[p]; when they have come to my heart, I shall give up the ghost, and shall deliver up my unhappy soul to their power." While saying these things, he breathed his last, and his vain complaint was followed by true misery. To the king was left the rotting carcase of his favourite, and the unhappy soul was carried off by the unclean spirits. Do ye dread, dearly beloved brethren, the hidden judgments of the Divine

[p] "with coulters." The MS. has *moveribus*. We can make nothing of this, and can only suppose that it is an accidental transposition of letters for *vomeribus*.

iudicia. an adhuc securi quiescitis in turpitudine vestra? Nolite desperare. quoniam desperatione nullum peccatum gravius est. Habete spem et confidite de misericordia dei. Agite penitentiam.
fol. 224 b. * et facite puras confessiones et securi accedite ad vestrorum peccatorum absolutionem. Aderit dominus et salvator noster filius dei Ihesus Christus qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat

vengeance, or are ye still secure and at your ease in your naughtiness? Do not despair; since no sin is more grievous than despair. Have hope and trust in the mercy of God. Do penance, and make a sincere confession, and then in full assurance of faith, draw near to receive absolution from your sins. Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ the Son of God will be with you, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, God for ever and ever. Amen.

V.

Title in red letters.

SERMO

IN DOMINICA PALMARUM.

Appropinquante sua passione. appropinquare voluit dominus loco passionis ut liquido manifestaret. quod non invitus set spontaneus pateretur. Erat quidem in iudeis invidia et voluntas[a] parricidii. set in domino potestas. et tolerantia perpetrandi peccati. Paucis ante istum eius adventum diebus suis apostolis dominus prædixerat mortem suam. et omnia que sibi ventura erant in ierusalem[b] diligenter annotaverat eis. Ecce dixerat ascendimus ierosolimam. et filius hominis capietur. alligabitur. flagellabitur. conspuetur. spinis coronabitur. gentibus tradetur. iudicabitur. crucifigetur. morietur. et sepelietur. et ut paventium discipu-

[a] *voluntas parricidii*—"treasonable intent." St. Stephen tells the Jews (Acts vii. 52) that they were the "murderers" of Christ; and He being "the Everlasting Father" (Isaiah ix. 6), that murder was truly a "parricide." But the word *parricidium* is used by classical authors for any atrocious crime. Thus Cicero calls the murder of a Roman citizen almost a parricide, in the often-quoted words; "facinus est, vinciri civem Romanum; scelus, verberari; prope parricidium, necari." (Verr., v. 66.)

[b] We have inserted these words, as we conceive this to be Herbert's meaning. See St. John x. 18.

[c] This is a very free quotation (evidently from memory) of St. Matt. xx. 17, 18, 19, which is mixed up in the writer's mind with its parallels, St. Mark x. 32, 33, 34, and St. Luke xviii. 31, 32, 33. The particulars of the Passion which our Lord in those three passages actually predicts, are

V.

A SERMON

ON PALM SUNDAY.

WHEN His Passion was drawing nigh, the Lord was minded to draw nigh to the place of His Passion, to the intent that He might plainly shew that He did not suffer against His will, but of His own accord. Doubtless there was amongst the Jews malice, and a treasonable intent against Him; but in the Lord was power [to lay[b] down His life or to preserve it,] and a patient endurance of the sin which was to be committed. A few days before His coming [to the place of His Passion] the Lord had foretold His Death to His Apostles, and had diligently signified to them all things which should come upon Him in Jerusalem. *Behold*, He had said, *we go up*[c] *to Jerusalem; and the Son of Man shall be taken, He shall be bound, He shall be scourged, He shall be spit upon, He shall be crowned with thorns, He shall be delivered to the Gentiles, He shall be judged, He shall be crucified, He shall die, and shall be buried;* and, that He might comfort the terri-

See St. Luke ix. 51.

St. Matt. xx. 18, 19, and see footnote.

(1.) the betrayal by Judas to the chief priests and scribes, St. Matt. and St. Mark; (2.) the condemnation to death by the Sanhedrin, St. Matt. and St. Mark; (3.) the making Him over to the Gentiles, St. Matt., St. Mark, St. Luke; (4) the mocking, St. Matt., St. Mark, St. Luke; (5.) the scourging, St. Matt., St. Mark, St. Luke; (6.) the spitting (of the Roman soldiers—there had been previous spitting at the trial before the High Priest. Cf. St. Mark xiv. 65, and xv. 19), St. Mark and St. Luke; (7.) the Crucifixion or killing, σταυρῶσαι, St. Matt.—ἀποκτενοῦσι, St. Mark and St. Luke. The apprehension, the binding, the crowning with thorns, and the burial, though they actually took place, do not seem to have been directly predicted. Our Lord, however, implied the last of them, when He said "She is come aforehand to anoint My body to the burying." (St. Mark xiv. 8.)

lorum mitigaret horrorem addiderat. et tercia die resurget. Ad quem cum petrus diceret. propicius esto domine ne fiat istud. respondit dominus. Vade retro sathanas. quoniam non sapis ea que Dei sunt. Calicem quem dedit mihi pater. non vis ut bibam illum? Id ipsum plane est quod alibi propalaverat. Potestatem inquit habeo [ponendi animam meam. et potestatem habeo] resumendi eam. Ascendit itaque bethaniam. et .v. die ante passionem suam descendit in civitatem iudeorum. Mittit duos discipulos ante faciem suam. et asinam. et pullum asine sibi adduci. et suorum discipulorum vestimentis sue sessioni præcipit aptari. Sedet animalibus auctor et redemptor

The words in brackets supplied in the margin of MS.

[d] "Spare Thyself, Lord"—*Propitius esto, Domine.* This translation of Herbert's (wherever he got it from) is more accurate than that in the modern Vulgate. We place both side by side with the original.

Greek.	Herbert.	Vulgate.
Ἱλεώς σοι, Κύριε. οὐ μὴ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο	Propitius esto, Domine ne fiat istud.	Absit a Te, Domine; non erit tibi hoc
* * *		
Ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ.	Vade retro, Sathanas,	Vade post Me, Satana;
* * *		
ὅτι οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ.	quoniam non sapis ea quæ Dei sunt.	quia non sapis ea quæ Dei sunt.

[e] These words were said indeed to Simon Peter, but on a different occasion. Herbert has *non vis ut bibam?* for the *non bibam illum?* of the Vulgate.

[f] According to Greswell's chronological arrangement of the events of our Lord's Passion, He came to Bethany on Saturday Evening, the 30th of March, and was there entertained at supper by Martha, Mary, and Lazarus; on Sunday the 31st He stayed under their roof, and was visited by many Jews from the City, who came to see Him and Lazarus; on Monday, April 1, made His triumphal entry into the City, but returned at night to Bethany; on Tuesday, April 2, cursed the fig-tree on His way into the City, cleansed the Temple, and again returned at night; on Wednesday, April 3, commented on the blight which had passed upon the fig-tree, delivered the Parables of the Vineyard let out to Husbandmen and the Wedding Garment, held conversations on the source of His

fied disciples, He had added, *and on the third day He shall rise again.* And when Peter had said to Him, *Spare Thyself*[d], *Lord; this be far from Thee;* the Lord answered, *Get thee behind Me, Satan, . . . for thou savourest not the things that be of God. The cup which My Father hath given Me, wouldest thou not that I should drink it*[e]? This is manifestly the same thing, which elsewhere He had spoken openly, *I have power to lay down My life, and I have power to take it up again.*—He went up then to Bethany; and on the fifth day[f] before His Passion, He went down to the city of the Jews. He sends two of His Disciples before His face, and commands that an ass, and the foal of an ass, should be brought to Him, and should be made ready with the clothes of His Disciples for Him to sit upon. The Creator and Redeemer of the world sits on these animals[g], and in

St. Matt. xvi. 22, 23. St. John xviii. 11. St. John x. 18. See footnote.

authority, on tribute to Cæsar, on marriage in a future state, on the great commandment of the Law, took leave of the Temple after denouncing nine woes on the Pharisees, and delivered afterwards the great Prophecy on the Mount of Olives, passing the night on the Mount; on Thursday, April 4, is placed of course the Last Supper, preceded by the preparations for it.

Herbert takes the more usual view, that the triumphal entry took place on the Sunday, the day after His arrival at Bethany. Our only certain note of time is that given us by St. John, that "six days before the passover Jesus came to Bethany." (St. John xii. 1.)

[g] "sits on these animals." The reference is to St. Matt. xxi. 7, though Herbert does not formally quote it. "They" (the disciples) "brought the ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and *they set Him* thereon," (*ἐπάνω αὐτῶν*, upon them). Two questions arise upon this verse, one of the reading, another of the interpretation. The Received Text has *ἐπεκάθισαν*; and this is the reading followed by our own Authorised Version, the Vulgate, and the Douay. The words of the Vulgate are, "et Eum desuper sedere fecerunt"—"they made Him sit thereon;" and this is of course the reading which Herbert would have followed, had he been quoting the passage. But the better MSS., including the Vatican, read Ἐπεκάθισεν—"He sat thereon;" and this is the reading adopted by Dean Alford and Bp. Wordsworth.

The other question respects the meaning of, "upon them" (*ἐπάνω αὐτῶν*). Upon what? The animals? or the clothes which had been thrown over the animals? Herbert says, "Sedet in *animalibus*." And though our Lord actually rode only on the colt, the mother following (see St. John xii. 15; St. Mark xi. 2, 4, 7), He might be said, as Alford remarks, to sit on both animals by the popular use of the plural for the singular. But others, with

orbis. et Sathanam triumphaturus tali humilitate festinat ad locum certaminis. Occurrunt turbe cum
fol. 224 b, col. 2. floribus[h] et palmis. et sua vestimenta prosternunt domino venienti. Exultent (*sic*) et clamant hebreorum pueri[i]. osanna filio david benedictus qui venit in nomine domini osanna in excelsis. Magnus honor. et dignus toto (*sic*) imperatore. set iudeorum perfidia fastidit. et invidia sacerdotum agmentatur (*sic*). Ingreditur dominus civitatem et sanctum introducitur in templum. Facit flagellum de restibus et negotiatores eicit (*sic*) de templo. subvertit mensas nummulariorum. et hiis qui columbas vendebant improperat. Domus inquit mea? est orationis vos autem fecistis eam speluncam latronum. Et erat docens cotidie in templo. sui †réfuge[1]† conflictus exspectans diem.

Wordsworth, understand the "them" of the "garments." Dr. Macbride's note is to the following effect :—

"According to St. Matthew, it seems as if He rode by turns upon both animals, *ἐπάνω αὐτῶν* ; but this on so short a ride is improbable, and Beza refers the pronoun to the nearer antecedent, *cloaks*, *ἱματία* ; others, who consider this construction as harsh, assume that the plural is employed for the singular, as in Joshua vii. 1 ; St. Matt. ii. 20, and xxvii. 44 ; St. Luke xxiii. 36 ; and St. John xix. 23 ; in which the plural is used of Christ's cloke, which was divided into four parts, a mode of expression which occurs in the works of profane writers, as in the Iliad x. 512, *ἐπεβήσατο ἵππων*." (Lec. on the Diatessaron, p. 540, note x.)

[h] "With flowers." This is an addition to the Scriptural narrative, which mentions only branches of palms as carried by the people who went forth to meet our Lord. It is observable that the word "flower" never occurs in the New Testament except as the emblem of something *perishable*, James i. 10, 11 ; 1 Pet. i. 24. And even when our Lord commends the beauty of the lilies of the field, He does not do so without glancing at their transitory nature. "Wherefore if God so clothe the grass of the field, *which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven*, shall He not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?" St. Matt. vi. 30.

[i] "The Hebrew children." The reference is to St. Matt. xxi. 15 ; "And when the chief priests and scribes saw the wonderful things that He did, and *the children crying in the Temple, and saying, Hosanna to the Son of David*, they were sore displeased."

this humble guise He, Who was about to triumph over Satan, hastens to the place of conflict. The multitudes meet Him with flowers[h] and palm branches, and throw down their garments in the way of the Lord as He drew nigh. The Hebrew children[i] rejoice and cry, *Hosanna to the Son of David: blessed is He Who cometh in the Name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest.* St. Matt. xxi. 9, 15. A great honour, and one worthy of such a Prince; but the faithless Jews disdained it, and the envy of the Priests is increased. The Lord enters the city, and is conducted into the holy temple. He makes a scourge of small[k] cords, and casts the traffickers out of the temple, overthrows the tables of the money-changers, and rebukes them that sold doves. *My house,* saith He, *is the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.* St. Luke xix. 46, 47. And He *was teaching daily in the temple,* waiting [thus] for the day of His conflict.—Briefly have

Herbert seems to represent the children as meeting and accompanying our Lord with the rest of the people (as probably they did). But the Evangelist does not specify children except as in the Temple, after the expulsion of the money-changers, and gives as the reason for their acclamations of praise the miracles which our Lord wrought upon the blind and the lame.

[k] "He makes a scourge of small cords." This particular is introduced out of its place. It was on the first occasion of His cleansing the Temple (recorded by St. John alone) that our Lord is said to have made a scourge of small cords. This feature of the scene Herbert has transferred to the final cleansing after the triumphal entry. Augustine clearly distinguishes the two cleansings in his Book "De Consensu Evangelistarum," Opp., tom. iii. part ii. pp. 84, 85, "Unde manifestum est non semel, sed iterum, hoc esse a Domino factum: sed illud primum commemoratum a Johanne, hoc ultimum a cæteris tribus."

[i] A word here occurs in the MS. of which we can make nothing. We subjoin a note upon it with which the Librarian of the University Library at Cambridge, H. Bradshaw, Esq., has kindly furnished us.

"In the word *réfuge* the mark over the e is not at all the mark used in the volume (or indeed at that period) for an abbreviation. It most resembles the mark over íí or áá (as in auxilíis and ááron), only it is not so fine as in that case, and has a rather different slope. One of the gentlemen to whom I showed it suggested *sui refugæ conflictûs expectans diem* = 'awaiting the day of meeting His apostate disciple Judas,' meaning the Betrayal in the Garden. Mr. Luard, to whom I also showed it, noticed that a similar passage occurred a little further on, which ought to be taken into account; 'Verumtamen ad propositam hystoriam revertamur. Frequen-

Compendiose karissimi fratres sacram præstrinxi hystoriam. et rerum ordinem vestro declaravi auditui. Res quidem geste sunt. in rebus gestis latet allegoria. et moralis latet intellectus. Venit bethzaniam. quæ domus interpretatur obedientie. quoniam dominus factus est obediens patri suo usque ad mortem. mortem autem crucis. Descendit in civitatem iudeorum. quoniam humiliatus est ante iudeos. adeo ut ab eisdem iudeis crucifigeretur. Duo sunt qui mittuntur discipuli. quum sancti prædicatores veteri et novo instructi testamento. contemplatione et actione pollere. et dei et proximi caritatem prædicare debent. Occurrunt turbe cum floribus et ramis palmarum. totius videlicet regiones mundi cum exemplis et doctrinis patriarcharum et prophetarum totis visceribus dominici corporis et suorum fidelium resurrectionem venerantes. Sternunt turbæ vestimenta sua invia. quia

tabat templum Dominus, et veritatem prædicabat judæis, *sueque immolationis expectabat solennitatem.*' (See p. 126.) Mr. Luard's notion was that *sui refuge conflictus* might possibly be some scribe's corruption of a word corresponding to *immolationis*. On the whole, I do not see what you can do but print *réfuge*, or some such expression, with a note showing that you believe the word to be corrupt."

[m] The mediæval Church recognised four meanings in Holy Scripture, one the literal and historical (which we may also call the contextual); another, allegorical of the present, where some Christian reality is spoken of under a name drawn from the Old Dispensation; a third, allegorical of the future, where some one of the last things is spoken of under such a name; and the fourth, moral, where the individual soul is addressed as the centre of interest. Thus they say that Jerusalem may mean either the earthly city of that name, or the Church militant here on earth, or the Heavenly Jerusalem, or the soul of man.

These four meanings were expressed in the following rude couplet;

Littera scripta docet; quod credas, Allegoria;
Quod speres, Anagoge; quod agas, Tropologia.

[n] In the "Onomasticon" of Jerome we find three significations of the name Bethany,—not only *domus obedientiæ* (as here), but *domus afflictionis ejus* (quasi בֵּית עָנְיֵי,—the house of his affliction), and *domus gloriæ* (the

I run through the sacred history, dearly beloved brethren, and have declared in your hearing the order of things as they came to pass. The things were indeed done; but in the things done there lieth hidden an allegory, and there lieth hidden also a moral meaning[m]. He cometh to Bethany, which by interpretation is the house of obedience[n], since the Lord became *obedient* unto His Father *even unto death, and that the death of the cross.* He went down into the city of the Jews, since He so humbled Himself before the Jews, that by these same Jews He was crucified. Two are the disciples who are sent, since holy preachers, provided with the Old and New Testament, ought to be mighty both in contemplation and in action, and to preach both the love of God, and the love of our neighbour. The multitudes meet Him with flowers and branches of palms; that is to say, the countries of the whole world, together with the examples and doctrines of the Patriarchs and Prophets, who from their inmost hearts [bear witness to and] adore the resurrection of the Lord's body and of His faithful ones. The multitudes spread their garments[o] in the way, because the

See Phil. ii. 8.

house of glory). Βηθανία, οἶκος δόξης, ἢ οἶκος κακουχίας, ἢ οἶκος ὑπακοῆς. Opp., tom. ii. col. 195.

Dean Stanley thinks that Bethany took its name from the date-palms in its immediate vicinity, and that it means "house of dates." "On Olivet, where now nothing is to be seen but the olive and the fig-tree, there must have been at least some palms in ancient days. Bethany in all probability derives its name, 'the house of dates,' from the same cause, and with this agrees the fact that the crowd which escorted our Lord to Jerusalem from Bethany took branches of palm-trees." ("Sinai and Palestine," p. 144.)

The etymology, בֵּית תְּמָנֵי, *house of dates*, corresponds well with that of Bethphage, another village in the vicinity, which is said to be בֵּית פַּגָּא, *house of unripe figs*. It appears that all traces of the ancient name of Bethany have vanished, and that the place is now called *el'-Âzirîyeh*, from el'-Âzir, the Arabic form of Lazarus. The grave of Lazarus is still one of the objects shown by the monks; but "there is not the slightest probability," says Dr. Robinson, "of its having been the tomb of Lazarus." ("Biblical Researches in Palestine," ii. pp. 101, 102.)

o "spread their garments." "The multitudes who spread their garments in the way are the martyrs who gave to martyrdom for Christ their bodies, which are the clothing of their minds." (Remigius, in the Catena

f. 225. sancti martires straverunt corpora* sua in fidei semita. qua ad suum convertuntur salvatorem omnium fidelium corda. Exultant et prædicant pueri salutem in excelsis. quoniam soli innocentes et puri conveniunt ad noticiam passionis. et dominici (*sic*) resurrectionis. Expellit dominus negotiatores de templo. quoniam ab agnitione sue incarnationis perfidos exterminat iudeos. Subvertit mensas nummulariorum doctrinam videlicet exinaniens phariseorum. Increpat vendentes columbas. ebreos comdempnat sacerdotes. qui legem mosaicam in suos ritus et templi cerimonias in suos convertebant questus. hoc ad allegoriam. Ceterum ad moralitatem dilectissimi contemplamini fratres. quomodo fides de morte salvatoris in cordibus vestris convalescat. quomodo caritas ferveat. quomodo vestre spei confirmetur soliditas. Sanctorum apostolorum baiulate exempla et præcepta. et fide future resurrectionis florentes. ante christum venturum iudicem vestras (*sic*) sternite vestimenta. Corpus christi pauperes sunt ecclesiæ. Igitur ante pauperes ponite hospicia. ponite mensas vestras. ponite cibos. ponite vestimenta vestra. Angariatur pauper. Presentes adestote consiliis et auxiliis vestris. iuxta illud viri iusti. Oculus ceco. et baculus eram claudo. Erogatis substantias vestras in pauperibus. set dominus eas vobis

Aurea, on St. Matt. xxi. 8.) Remigius was a Presbyter and Monk of Auxerre, A.D. 880.

* "He rebukes those who sold doves." The Dove being the chosen emblem of the Holy Spirit, the selling of it is mystically interpreted by several of the Fathers as the sin of Simony. Thus Bede (Catena Aurea, on St. Mark, vol. ii. p. 228): "Because the Holy Spirit appeared over the Lord in the shape of a dove, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are fitly pointed out under the name of doves. The dove therefore is sold, when the laying

holy martyrs laid down their bodies in the pathway of faith, in which pathway the hearts of all the faithful are turned to their Saviour. The children shout for joy, and proclaim Hosanna in the highest, since only the innocent and the pure flock together unto the knowledge of the passion and of the Lord's resurrection. The Lord expelleth the traffickers from the temple, since He shutteth out the unbelieving Jews from the discerning of His incarnation. He overthroweth the tables of the money-changers, to wit, making of none effect the doctrine of the Pharisees. He rebukes those who sold doves[p], that is to say, He condemneth the Hebrew priests, who turned the Law of Moses into rites of their own devising, and the ceremonies of the temple to their own gain. So much for the allegorical meaning. But for the moral meaning, dearly beloved brethren, consider ye, how faith in the death of the Saviour may grow strong in your hearts, how your charity may be fervent, and how your hope may be confirmed in steadfastness. Bear ye the yoke of the examples and precepts of the holy Apostles, and abounding in the faith of the Resurrection that is to be hereafter, spread ye your garments before Christ the Judge, who is to come. The Church's poor are the body of Christ. Therefore before the poor set ye your entertainments, spread your boards, set on meat, lay out garments. The poor man is oppressed. Stand by him with your counsel and succour, according to that word of the just man, *I was an eye to the blind,* Job xxix. *and a staff*[q] *was I to the lame.* Ye spend your sub- 15. stance upon the poor; but the Lord layeth it up for

on of hands by which the Holy Spirit is received is sold for a price. Again, He overthrows the seats of them who sell doves, because they who sell spiritual grace are deprived of their priesthood, either before men, or in the eyes of God."

And so Aug., Hom. on St. John x. Library of the Fathers, Aug. on St. John, vol. i. p. 156.

[q] It will be observed that while the Vulgate has "*pes* claudo," *a foot to the lame,* Herbert has "*baculus*," *a staff.* He is probably quoting from memory.

conservat in celestibus thesauris. Felix commercium. Pro cibo celum. et pro vili veste vitam adquirere sempiternam. Fugite fraudulentorum negotiorum nundinas. et nullum in fidelibus ecclesiæ exerceatis dolum. quoniam deus abhominatur fraudulentos. et odio habet suorum deceptores fidelium. Habetis gratiam discendi (*sic*) subveniendi pauperibus. non vendatis linguas vestras oppressis. Dona sunt ista spiritus sancti. timete sanctum vendere spiritum. Gratis accepistis? gratis date. Pupillus et vidua vestro indigent consilio. inpigri festinate. accurrite. subvenite. quoniam et vos eorum capitis christi videlicet miseratione indigetis. fecit dominus flagellum de resticulis. et de templo eliminavit peccatores. Colligit dominus peccata vestra. et de vestrorum conexione peccatorum vestram puniet pravitatem. Timete sacris ecclesiæ eliminari liminibus. Expertibus enim ecclesiasticæ societatis. dicturus est dominus. ite maledicti in ignem æternum. qui præparatus. est diabolo et angelis eius. Ubi vermis non mo-

fol. 225, col. 2.

[r] "Flee ye deceitful dealings in the markets." See above, p. 92, note c.

[s] "Ye have the ability to speak," &c. This passage is interesting and observable as shewing that the preacher thought it the duty of his monks not only to relieve the bodily wants of the poor, but also to employ the talents which their education had given them, and especially their knowledge of Rhetoric, in maintaining the cause of the oppressed. No doubt the better and more cultivated members of the monastic Orders, in those days of turbulence and rapine, often appeared not only as the almoners but as the advocates of the poor. Wisdom is strength; and their education gave them a power even against the lawless baron, the amount of which it is not easy to conceive in a state of society where knowledge is more equally diffused, and brutal ignorance in high places but rarely met with.

[t] "with the bundle of those same sins will He punish your naughtiness." Augustine (Hom. on St. John; Library of Fathers, vol. i. pp. 155, 156, Hom. x.) draws out this similitude in some detail;

"Each individual person doth in his sins twist for himself a rope. The Prophet says, *Woe unto them which drag sins like a long rope!* (LXX. *draw*

you in His heavenly treasure-house. Happy is the exchange, for meat to gain heaven, and for mean raiment to gain eternal life. Flee ye deceitful dealings in the markets[r], and practise no fraud on the Church's faithful ones, since God abhors guile, and hates those who deceive His faithful ones. Ye have the ability to speak[s], and to succour the poor; sell not the pleading of your tongue to the oppressed. Those [abilities] are the gifts of the Holy Spirit; beware how ye sell the Holy Spirit. *Freely you have received, freely give.* The orphan and widow stand in need of your counsel; hasten quickly to them; run to help them, and succour them, since ye also need the compassion of Him who is their head, even Christ. The Lord made a scourge of small cords, and drave sinners forth from the temple. The Lord gathereth together your sins, and with the bundle of those same sins[t] will He punish your naughtiness. Dread to be thrust forth from the sacred threshold of the Church; for to those who have no part in the communion of the Church the Lord will say, *Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the Devil and his Angels, where the worm*[u] *shall not die and your fire shall not be*

St. Matt. x. 8.

St. Matt. xxv. 41.

St. Mark ix. 44, 46, 48.

iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as the rope of a cart. Rheims.) Who makes a *long* rope? He that adds sin to sin. In what way are sins added to sins? When the sins which have been committed are covered with other sins. A man has committed theft; that he may not be found out to have committed it, he seeks the astrologer. It might suffice to have committed theft; why wilt thou join sin to sin? lo, here are two sins. When thou art forbidden to betake thee to the astrologer, thou revilest the Bishop: lo, here are three sins. When thou hearest the sentence, 'Send him forth from the Church,' thou sayest, 'I take myself to the party of Donatus;' lo, thou addest a fourth. The cord is growing: fear the cord. Good is it for thee that, when thou art here scourged therewith, thou be corrected; lest in the end it be said, *Bind ye his feet and hands, and cast him forth into outer darkness.* For, *With the cords of his own sins is each one tied.*"

Compare the words of our own Collect, "though we be tied and bound with the chain of our sins, yet let the pitifulness of Thy great mercy loose us;" and an excellent Chapter in Bishop Trower's "Similitudes of Holy Scripture" on "the Cart-rope."

[u] "Where THE worm and YOUR fire."

But in the passage from which the quotation is made, St. Mark ix. 44, 46,

rietur. et ignis vester non extinguetur. Verumtamen ad propositam hystoriam revertamur. Frequentabat templum dominus. et veritatem prædicabat iudæis. sueque immolationis exspectabat solennitatem. Succendebantur demones et sacerdotum perfidia magis ac magis incrudescebat. Set dominus condebat evangelium. et vaticinia adimplebat prophetarum. Noverat agnus iusticie horam suam et nullorum hostium perturbatur insidiis quæ in præscientia et in voluntate divina inmobilis consistebat. Insignis ab orbe condito dies. et a multis desiderata fidelibus. qua evangelicus agnus imolaretur. et legalis agni cessaret inmolatio. Siquidem dominus dixerat ad moysen. et aaron. Mensis iste vobis principium mensium. primus erit in mensibus anni. Loquimini ad universum cetum filiorum israel / et dicite eis. Decima die mensis huius. tollat unusquisque agnum per fami-
fol. 225 b. lias et domos* suas. Iuxta quem ritum tolletis et edum. et servabitis eum usque ad quartam decimam diem mensis huius. Imolabitque eum universa multitudo filiorum israel ad vesperam. et sument de sanguine. ac ponent super utrumque postem. et in superliminaribus domorum in quibus comedent illum. Et edent carnes nocte illa assas igni et azimos panes cum lactucis agrestibus. Non comedetis ex eo crudum quod (*sic*). nec coctum aqua. set assum tantum igni. Caput cum pedibus eius et intestinis vorabitis. nec remanebit ex eo quicquam usque mane. Siquid residuum fuerit. igni comburetis. Sic autem comedetis illum.

48, the positions of the definite article and the possessive pronoun are reversed. It is "THEIR worm" and "THE fire," the first possibly representing that remorse, which is bred in the sinner's mind and preys upon him from within; the latter, some external application of suffering.

quenched. But to return to the history before us. The Lord resorted ofttimes to the temple and preached the truth to the Jews, and waited for the solemnity of His sacrifice. The wrath of the devils was kindled, and the treachery of the priests waxed sorer and sorer. But the Lord was laying the foundations of His Gospel, and fulfilling the oracles of the Prophets. The Lamb of righteousness knew His hour, and that hour which was grounded and settled in the foreknowledge and will of God, could not be shaken by the conspiracies of any foes. Notable was that day from the foundation of the world, and a day desired by many of the faithful, on which the Gospel Lamb was sacrificed, and the sacrifice of the lamb enjoined in the Law ceased. For the Lord had said to Moses and Aaron; *This month shall be to you the beginning of months: it shall be the first in the months of the year. Speak ye to the whole assembly of the children of Israel, and say to them: On the tenth day of this month let every man take a lamb by their families and houses. . . . According to which rite also you shall take a kid. And you shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this month: and the whole multitude of the children of Israel shall sacrifice it in the evening. And they shall take of the blood thereof, and put it upon both side-posts, and on the upper door-posts of the houses wherein they shall eat it. And they shall eat the flesh that night roasted at the fire, and unleavened bread with wild lettuce. You shall not eat thereof anything raw, nor boiled in water, but only roasted at the fire: you shall eat the head with the feet and entrails thereof. Neither shall there remain anything of it until morning. If there be anything left, you shall burn it* Exod. xii. 2, 3, 5—11.

Perhaps, however, the observation of any distinction may be over subtle; for in the passage of Isaiah which our Lord is citing, we have the possessive pronoun in both cases, "*their* worm" (תּוֹלַעְתָּם) and "*their* fire" (אִשָּׁם); and so in the Septuagint, ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν. Similarly, in the passage of Isaiah (lxvi. 24) the Vulgate has "Vermis *eorum*" and "Ignis *eorum*;" but in our Lord's citation of the words in St. Mark, "Vermis *eorum* et ignis."

Renes vestros accingetis calciamenta habebitis in pedibus tenentes baculos in manibus et comedetis festinantes. Contemplamini fratres quanta congruentia lex et evangelium conveniant. Decima dies primi mensis. ipsa est præsens dies qua dominus introducitur. et agnus legalis in civitate defertur. Quid namque sit sanguis agni. non iam audiendo set bibendo didicistis. Qui sanguis super utrumque postem ponitur. quando non solum ore corporis. set etiam cordis ore hauritur. Quinetiam in superliminaribus domorum ponendus est quoniam nostrarum cogitationum et actionum intentio. dominice passionis iugi memoria insignari debet. Et edent carnes nocte illa assas igni. In nocte corpus christi comedimus. quamdiu id in sacramento comedentes nostras cogitationes adinvicem non videmus. Assas igni. non carnali set spirituali medicationem (*sic*) attendentes quid comedamus. Et azimos panes cum lactucis agrestibus.
f. 225 b, col. 2. hoc est bona facietis opera.* simplici intentione ea faciamus et præterita peccata. amara recorda-

[x] This entirely harmonises with Greswell's Chronology, who (see above, p. 116, note f) makes our Lord arrive at Bethany on the evening of Saturday, March 30, 8th of Nisan, where he supped with Mary, Martha, and Lazarus; stay there Sunday, March 31, 9th of Nisan; and make His triumphal entry on Monday, April 1, 10th of Nisan, which was the day of taking up the lamb. But then on this hypothesis Sunday is no longer the actual *dies Palmarum.*

[y] This would seem to intimate that the Holy Communion had been received by the congregation previously to the delivery of this Sermon. They had communicated at an early Mass.

[z] Bede explains the sprinkling of the blood on the two side-posts not of the wine of the Eucharist, but of the sign of the Cross made internally and externally. "*On both door-posts the blood of the Lamb is placed.* We, too, both in heart and in body are signed with the sign of the Cross, and say, *The light of Thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us.*" (Psalm iv. 7. *Douay.*) Opp., tom. iv. p. 102.

[a] The allegorising of Ainsworth on this point seems less fanciful, and brings another passage of Scripture to bear in illustration of that before us.

with fire. And thus shall you eat it: you shall gird your reins, and you shall have shoes on your feet, holding staves in your hands, and you shall eat it in haste. Consider, my brethren, how perfectly joined together are the Law and the Gospel in agreement with one another. The tenth day[x] of the first month is this very day, on which the Lord was solemnly brought into the city of Jerusalem, and the lamb enjoined in the Law was also carried into the city. What the blood of the Lamb is ye have already learnt, not by hearing, but by drinking[y]. Which blood is sprinkled on either side-post of the door, when it is received not only with the mouth of the body, but also[z] with that of the heart. Moreover the blood is to be sprinkled on the upper door-posts of the houses, since the intent of our[a] thoughts and actions ought to be marked with a perpetual remembrance of our Lord's Passion. *And they shall eat the flesh that night roasted at the fire.* We eat the Body of Christ in the night, as often as, when we eat it in the Sacrament, we see[b] not mutually the thoughts of one another. *Roasted at the fire;* that is to say, giving heed to what we eat, not by a carnal, but a spiritual meditation upon it. *And unleavened bread with wild lettuce;* that is to say, Ye shall do good works. We should do them with a single intent, and purge away past sins, by the bitter[c] remembrance

"The blood of the Lamb was to be sprinkled on the upper door-post, but not on the threshold under their feet; whereby a reverent regard of the Blood of Christ seemeth to be taught: that men should not *tread under foot the Son of God*, nor *count the blood of the covenant* wherewith they were sanctified, *an unholy thing*. Heb. x. 29." (Ainsworth on the Pentateuch, on Exod. xii. 7, p. 37.)

[b] "We see not mutually the thoughts."

Bede's allegorising on this point is;

"*And they shall eat the flesh on that night;* that is, in the obscurity of Sacraments; or (in the moral sense), in ignorance of sin." By the obscurity of Sacraments, he means probably that in all Sacraments we see through a glass darkly,—that they are a veil covering the mysteries which they exhibit; not that one receiver of the Sacraments is in the dark as to the state of another's mind and heart, which is *Herbert's* allegorising.

[c] Bede has very much the same allegorising here;

"The command to eat unleavened bread with wild lettuces signifieth

tione emundemus. Non comedatis ex eo crudum quid? nec coctum aqua. quia redemptor noster. nec purus homo estimandus est neque per humanam sapientiam. qualiter incarnari deus potuit cogitandus. Omnis enim qui redeptorem (*sic*) nostrum purum hominem credit quid iste aliud quam agni carnes crudas comedit quos (*sic*) videlicet coquere per divinitatis eius intelligentiam noluit? Item. Qui incarnationis eius misteria. iuxta humanam sapientiam discutere conatur. carnes agni aqua vult coquere. id est dispensationis eius misterium per dissolutam vult scientiam penetrare. Assas igitur igni carnes christi comedat. ut dispensari omnia per sancti spiritus potentiam sciat. Caput enim pedibus et intestinis vorabitis. Caput ergo agni vorare est? divinitatem eius fide percipere. Pedes vero agni vorare est? vestigia humanitatis eius amando. et imitando perquirere. Intestina? occulta et mistica verborum illius mandata sunt. Que tunc voramus. cum verba vitæ cum aviditate sumimus. Non remanebit ex eo quicquam usque mane. Futurus est dies iudicii communis resurrectio et mane æter-

that leading a life purged from all leaven of malice, we ought ever to have bitter compunction of heart—signified by the lettuce. For lettuces when they are eaten are so salt and bitter that they draw tears from him who eats them. So forsooth when we receive the bread of heaven, we should water our face with tears." (Opp., tom. iv. col. 102.)

[4] There is here again a close resemblance between Bede's allegorising and Herbert's. The former says;

"The flesh of the lamb is not cooked with water, but only with fire; because not by the wisdom of this world, but only by the grace of the Holy Spirit can the passion of Christ be understood." (Opp., tom. iv. col. 102.)

Herbert, by the expression "weak and unstable science," brings out the aptness of the comparison of this world's wisdom to water.

of them. *You shall not eat thereof raw, nor boiled in water;* because our Redeemer may neither be counted a mere man, nor may the manner in which God could be made flesh, be thought of by the wisdom of man. For every one who believes our Redeemer to be a mere man, what does he else than eat raw the flesh of the Lamb, which forsooth he would not roast by the discernment of His Divinity? Moreover he who endeavoureth to sift the mysteries of His Incarnation by the wisdom of this world, is minded to seethe the flesh of the Lamb in water, that is to say, to search, by weak and unstable science[d], into the mystery of that dispensation. Let him, therefore, eat the flesh of Christ roasted at the fire, so that he may know that all things [in the Incarnation] are dispensed by the power of the Holy Ghost[e]. *You shall eat the head with the feet and entrails thereof.* To eat the head of the Lamb, then, is to discern His Godhead by faith; whereas, to eat the feet of the Lamb, is to make diligent search for the footsteps of His Human Nature[f], by loving and imitating it. The entrails are the hidden and mystical commandments given in His words. And these we eat, when we receive the words of life greedily. *Neither shall there remain anything of it until the morning.* The day of the general judgment is yet to come; the Resurrection

Theodoret, quoted by Wordsworth (Holy Bible with Notes, Exod. xii. 9), says, "Christ's Sacrifice is not to be diluted with the water of human imaginations."

[e] And therefore only to be apprehended and understood by the same power. Such seems to be the meaning.

[f] This again is from Bede, somewhat expanded;

"*Ye shall eat the head with the feet and the intestines.* In the head there is an indication of His Divinity, in the feet of the Humanity. The intestines signify the more secret and occult mysteries, all of which we ought to devour, that is, to believe." (Opp., iv. col. 102.)

And so S. Cyril (Catechesis xii. Opp., p. 163, B. C.);

"We who are accounted worthy to feed on the flesh of the spiritual Lamb, let us partake of His head together with His feet, by His head being understood His Divinity, by His feet His Humanity."

num subsecuturum est. Ante que? omnia mandata dei intelligendo et operando perficienda sunt. Si quid residuum fuerit? igni comburetis. Quod ex agno remanet? igni comburimus. quando hoc quod de misterio incarnationis illius intelligere et penetrare non possumus? potestati sancti spiritus humiliter reservamus. Sequitur. Sic autem comedetis illum. Renes vestros accingetis et calciamenta habetis (*sic*) in pedibus tenentes baculos in manibus. et comedetis festinantes. Quid in renibus. nisi delectatio carnis accipitur? Unde dominus. Potestas inquit eius. in lumbis eius. Qui ergo pasche comedendo se præparat habere renes accinctos debet. Ut qui solennitatem resurrectionis atque incorruptionis agnum. corruptioni iam per vitia nulli subiaceat. voluptates edomet. carnem a luxuria restringat. Neque etenim cognovit. quæ sit solennitas incorruptionis. qui adhuc per incontinentiam corruptioni subiacet. Hec quibusdam dura sunt? set angusta porta est. quæ ducit ad vitam. et habemus iam multa exempla con-

fol. 226. bi

[g] Here again he is on Bede's footsteps;

"As to what is said, *There shall remain nothing of it until the morning*, it signifieth that before the day of the future judgment dawneth, we ought to believe and fulfil all things which are written." (Opp., iv. col. 102.)

Ainsworth (on the Pentateuch) thus gives the mystical significance of allowing nothing to remain until the morning;

"We must be careful to enjoy Christ, and His whole covenant, by faith, without delay. For by the *morning* the change of our estate is often signified, Ps. xxx. 6; Esay xvii. 14; 2 Kings xix. 35: for our sleep is an image of death." (On Exod. xii. 10, p. 39.)

[h] This again is from Bede;

"If anything" (in what is written) "be very obscure and too deep for us, it must be reserved for the Holy Ghost, who is a consuming fire; and who, if He shall come to us, shall bring to our remembrance all things which have been said to us: this is the signification of, '*If anything remain, ye shall burn it with fire.*'" (Opp., tom. iv. col. 102.)

and the eternal morning are to follow. Before which[g] all the commandments of God have to be fulfilled by [first] understanding and then working. *If there be anything left, you shall burn it with fire.* That which remaineth of the Lamb we burn with fire, when what we cannot understand or sift in the mystery of His Incarnation, we in humbleness of mind keep back[h] for the power of the Holy Ghost. It follows; *And thus shall you eat it; you shall gird your reins, and you shall have shoes on your feet, holding staves in your hands, and you shall eat it in haste.* What is to be understood by the reins, except the word be taken to denote fleshly[i] delight? Whence the Lord saith [of Behemoth], *His strength*[k] *is in his loins.* He therefore who maketh himself ready to eat the Passover ought to have his loins girded up, as one who, since he is about to keep the feast of the Resurrection, and to eat the Lamb of incorruption, is now no longer in bondage to corruption through his lusts, who overcomes the pleasures of sin, and restrains his flesh from uncleanness. For he knoweth not what the feast of incorruption is, who still is in bondage to corruption through incontinency. To some men these are hard sayings, but *narrow is the gate that leadeth to life,* and we have already many examples of chaste conversation. Whence it is added;

Job xl. 16.

St. Matt. vii. 14.

[i] *Ye shall gird your reins.* "In this is signified the correction of human concupiscence. For in the reins is the seat of concupiscence in the man, in the navel its seat in the woman." (Bede, Opp., tom. iv. col. 103.)

[k] The text in the Douay translation is, *His strength is in his loins, and his force in the navel of his belly.* (The mention of both the *loins* and the *navel* is curious in connexion with the passage from Bede given in the last note.) The loins and navel seem to be regarded as the seat of lust. Caryl, who sees in the words nothing more than the assertion that the loins and navel of the elephant are the centre and seat of his strength, repudiates any reference to the lustfulness of the creature in this Latin marginal note from Mercator; "Non rectè nostri quod de lumbis dicitur ad libidinem accommodant, cum Elephas tradatur esse animal maximè pudicum." (Caryl on Job, xl. 17, vol. ii. col. 2191, l. 15, *margin.*) The natural modesty of the elephant (not a dream of mediæval zoology, but a well-established fact) is dwelt upon by St. Francois de Sales in a quaint passage of his Vie Dévote, part iii. chap. xxxix. sec. 7.

tinentium. Unde subditur. Calciamenta habebitis in pedibus. hoc est exempla continentiæ præcedentium fidelium habebitis in operibus vestris. Et comedetis festinantes. Notate fratres notate. quod dicitur festinantes. Mandata dei. misteria redemptoris. celestis vitæ gaudia cum festinatione cognoscite. et præcepta vite cum festinatione implere curate. Quia enim adhuc hodie licet bene agere scimus. utrum vero cras liceat ignoramus. Festinantes ergo pascha comedite. id est. ad solennitatem patriæ celestis anelate. Nemo in huius vite itinere torpeat. ne in patria locum perdat. Nemo moras ad appetenda bona studia innectat[l] set cepta perficiat. Nemini liceat implere. quod male inchoat. Si ad amorem dei pigri non sumus. adiuvat ipse quem amamus[l] Ihesus Christus dominus noster. cui cum patre et spiritu sancto. honor et imperium per omnia secula seculorum Amen.

[l] Here there is only a faint trace of the same idea in Bede;

"*Ye shall have shoes on your feet*, i.e. let us have the twofold law of love in our senses; or *let us walk by the example of the Apostles and Prophets*, both in body and soul." (Opp., tom. iv. col. 103.)

[m] "Make haste then to acquaint yourselves," &c.

"*In haste*, that is, spiritually. In haste it behoves us to believe in Christ before the day of judgment; or (in the moral sense) even before the day of death the Church flees with haste out of the midst of earthly things." (Bede, *ibid.*)

You shall have shoes on your feet, that is to say, you shall in your works tread in the steps of the chaste conversation[l] of the faithful, who have gone before you. *And you shall eat it in haste.* Mark ye, brethren, mark, that it is said *in haste.* Make haste[m], then, to acquaint yourselves with the commandments of God, with the mysteries of Redemption, with the joys of the heavenly life; and see that ye fulfil with haste the precepts of life. For that still to-day it is permitted us to do well we know; but whether to-morrow it may be permitted us, we know not. Eat the Passover therefore in haste, that is to say, pant after the festival which is to be held in the heavenly country. Let no man linger in the journey of this life, lest he lose his place in that country. Let no man weave delays, [to excuse himself from not] following after the things which are good; but let him accomplish what he hath undertaken. Let no man, however, permit himself to fulfil what he begins amiss. If we be not slow in following after the love of God, He Himself, Whom we love, helpeth us, even Jesus Christ our Lord, to Whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be honour and dominion for ever and ever.

Bishop Wordsworth's note on Ex. xii. 11, is subjoined;

"*Eat it in haste.* Eager and impatient to leave Egypt and to march on to Canaan, and as having no time to lose. Such is to be the temper and conduct of the Christian. He must use a godly σπουδή,—speed and eagerness,—in spiritual things; in departing from the Egypt of sin, and in his march towards heaven. Cp. *S. Cyril*, Glaph. in Exod., lib. ii. p. 274.; and de Adorat. xvii. p. 598."

VI.

FERIA QUINTA POST PALMAS.

fol. 226, col. 2. Ante diem festum pasce sciens ihesus quia venit hora eius ut transeat ex hoc mundo ad patrem. cum dilexisset suos qui erant in mundo. in finem dilexit eos. et cetera. usque ad id quod sequitur. qui lotus est. non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet set est mundus totus. Loti erant apostoli baptismate salvatoris. et secundo non indigebant

[a] "The fifth day after the Palms"—*Feriâ quintâ post Palmas.* The *quintâ* is so faintly written in the MS. that it might be *tertiâ* or *quartâ*, if there were nothing but the heading itself to direct us. But the contents of the Sermon plainly shew it to be a Sermon for Maundy Thursday, which, counting Palm Sunday itself as one, would be the fifth Day after the Palms. One of the names of Maundy Thursday (given to it in the title of a Sermon of Chrysostom's) was Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη πεντάς, "the holy and great fifth day of the week." The name Maundy is a corruption of Dies Mandati, the day of the Commandment, Our Lord's new commandment to His disciples to love one another, and also the commandment to observe the Eucharist in remembrance of Him, having been issued on this day. "Lavipedium," the Foot-washing, from Our Lord's having washed the feet of His disciples after the Supper, is a third name sometimes given to this day; and "Feria mysteriorum," *Day of* mysteries, (the Foot-washing, the Eucharist, the Betrayal, all being regarded as such,) a fourth. (See Blunt's Annotated Book of Common Prayer, vol. i. p. 98; Bingham's Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 1188.)

The history of the word *feria*, here denoting merely a *day*, is curious and interesting. Among the Romans the *feriæ* were holidays, when law-courts were shut and all business suspended. In short, they were the Sundays of ancient Rome, days on which it was unlawful to work, and usually devoted to worship, rejoicing, and convivial gatherings. The word has probably the same root as *festum* and the Greek χαίρω, and is still preserved in modern languages by the French word *foire* and the English *fair*. The process by which a word having originally such a signification came at last to mean merely a common day, is very curious. There is a law of Constantine the Great's, prescribing that every day in both Holy Week and Easter Week shall be observed as a *feria* or holiday. Custom, however,

VI.

A SERMON

FOR

THE FIFTH DAY AFTER THE PALMS[a].

Before the festival day of the Pasch, Jesus knowing that His hour was come, that He should pass out of this world to the Father: having loved His own who were in the world, He loved them unto the end; and so forth down to what followeth; *He that is washed needeth not but to wash his feet, but is clean wholly.* St. John xiii. 1. St. John xiii. 10.

The Apostles were washed with the Saviour's[b] bap-

afterwards limited the holidays to Easter Week, the week-days of which would then be called, *feria secunda, tertia, quarta, &c.* But Easter Week was the Week of Weeks, the type and model of all weeks; and so in course of time it came to pass that every week-day in an ordinary week assumed the name of *feria*, from the days of the Easter Week being all ferial; and thus *feria* became equivalent to *dies;* as Bede says in one of his Hymns;—

"Nostro more dies feriæ sunt nomen habentes."

(*Ducange*, in voce Feria.)

[b] "The Apostles were washed with the Saviour's Baptism."

It seems probable that the Apostles were themselves baptized by Our Lord, for the following reasons;

(1.) The words of Our Lord, setting forth "the great necessity of this Sacrament, *where it may be had*" (Office of Ministration of Baptism to such as are of riper years), do not seem to contemplate or admit of any exceptions; "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." St. John iii. 5.

(2.) We are expressly told (St. John iii. 22) that "After these things," (after the conversation with Nicodemus, in which Our Lord had represented to him how essential to an entrance into God's kingdom is birth of water and of the Spirit,) "came Jesus and His disciples into the land of Judæa, and there He tarried with them AND BAPTIZED." It is true that in the following chapter we read that "Jesus Himself BAPTIZED NOT, but His disciples;" still this last may only mean that it was not His habit to baptize with His own hand, and that He never did so in the case of ordinary disciples, though still He may have made an exception in favour of the Twelve, on the ground of necessity; for who was to baptize *them* but Himself? and is it credible that they could have properly ministered Baptism,

baptismate. Iuxta illud apostoli. Unus dominus una fides unum baptisma. Et alibi Inpossibile

without having themselves received it? Maldonatus seems to favour this view, for he says;

"Christ occasionally baptized before His Passion, and baptized too with the Holy Ghost. . . . For as to what John says afterwards, that He Himself did *not* baptize, we may properly enough understand thereby that it was not His custom to baptize, although He may have occasionally baptized some few people." (Maldonati Comment. in Evangelistas, Jno. iii. 22, tom. iv. 367.)

(3.) St. Paul was baptized; and it was intimated to him that his sins could not be washed away without his submitting to this initiatory ordinance, and this, though he had been miraculously converted and called to the Apostolate. See Acts ix. 18, and xxii. 16. Is it likely that in the case of the earlier Apostles the Sacrament, which was found indispensable for St. Paul, should have been dispensed with; the inward spiritual grace poured on them abundantly at Pentecost superseding and making it unnecessary? We can hardly think so. By early authors the water of Baptism is spoken of as the womb from which the faithful are generated, "the Spirit" performing the paternal function. And, if there is any justice in the analogy, it may be asked whether the maternal function is not as essential as the paternal.

But it may be asked whether the outward form of the Sacrament can in no case be dispensed with. Doubtless it may, *where it cannot possibly be had.* The penitent robber was saved without Baptism; and it was a recognised tenet in the Early Church, that in the case of Catechumens martyred before they could be fully prepared for Baptism, their martyrdom supplied the place of the Sacrament; nay, that when persons preparing for Baptism were cut off by sudden death in a natural way, Faith and Repentance would suffice for Salvation without the Sacrament. (See Bingham's Antiquities, vol. i. 442—444.) But surely these are not parallel cases with that before us. In the case of the Apostles, Baptism might have been had by Our Lord's administration of it to them.

(4.) Cornelius and his party of friends were made to receive "the water," even after the gift of the Holy Ghost had been "poured out upon" them. Acts x. 47, 48.

(5.) It is probable that in Our Lord's words to St. Peter on the occasion of washing his feet, "He that is washed" (Ὁ λελουμένος—Compare λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, καθαρίσας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι, βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου) "needeth not save to wash his feet," there is a reference to Baptism. If so, the words imply that St. Peter had been "washed" in Baptism.

(6.) It seems highly improbable that the Apostles should have been (as we know they were) admitted to the Eucharist, unless they had previously received Baptism. If the man with a pitcher of water, who ushered them into the guest-chamber, was really meant to symbolise the admission to the Eucharist through the water of the font, this improbability is aggravated. (See St. Mark xiv. 13; St. Luke xxii. 10.)

tism, and needed not a second baptism, according to that word of the Apostle's; *One Lord, one Faith, one* Eph. iv. 5.

St. Augustine touches upon this subject in two of his letters; one to Seleuciana (Ep. 265 [Alias 108], tom. ii. col. 896, 897, another to Eleusius and Glorius, &c. (Ep. 44 [Alias 163], tom. ii. col. 105, C. D.). In the former of these he says;

"When therefore [our Lord] went out of Jerusalem with His disciples into the land of Judæa and there abode (St. John iii. 22) with them, He baptized not in His own Person, but by His disciples, *whom we must understand from that circumstance to have been already baptized, whether with the Baptism of John, as some suppose, or, which is more credible, with Christ's Baptism. For He would not have declined the ministry of Baptism, so as Himself to baptize the servants by whom He might baptize others,* Who did not decline that memorable ministry of humility, when He washed their feet, and Who to Peter's request that He would wash not only his feet, but his hands and his head, replied, *He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit,* where we must understand that Peter had been already baptized."

Augustine thinks that if we were to say the Apostles were not baptized with water, this might authorise a contempt of Baptism, whereas so far was Apostolic Discipline from contemning this holy Sacrament, that it was held to be necessary for Cornelius after the descent of the Holy Spirit. He says that the omission of all mention of the Baptism of the Apostles in Holy Scripture proves nothing. "Not all things which were done are written in Scripture, but are proved to have been done from other evidences." And the evidences which in his opinion prove the Apostles to have been baptized are the impossibility of their giving what they had never received, the impossibility of their being admitted to the Eucharist without Baptism, and the implication in St. John xiii. 10 that Peter had been "washed." (See the passages referred to above.)

There are, however, two sides to every question. And Tertullian (quoted in Pole's Synopsis on St. John iv. 2, vol. iv. col. 1190, l. 64) gives these reasons why Christ Himself did not baptize (which carries with it the conclusion that the Apostles could not have received Christian Baptism; for who but Our Lord could have conferred it upon them?)

(1.) Because He was occupied with more serious matters, teaching, &c. Cf. 1 Cor. i. 17. (2.) Christ could hardly have baptized in His own Name with propriety. (3.) It was Christ's part to baptize with the Spirit, Acts i. 5. (4.) He would thus obviate the contentions likely to take their rise among his followers, in case some of them had been baptized by Christ, others only by the disciples.

There is much force in (3). Certainly the hypothesis of Our Lord's abstaining altogether from the ministration of Baptism gives additional point and emphasis to John the Baptist's assertion; "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." And it is quite conceivable (and perhaps on the whole the most likely conclusion) that just as Adam and Eve were brought into the world not by generation but by the totally dis-

est enim eos qui semel loti sunt. gustaverunt necnon donum celeste. et facti sunt participes æternæ hereditatis. rursus renovari ad penitentiam. Semel lotos dicit fideśles (*sic*) baptizatos. Donum celeste? participationem dominici corporis et sanguinis. sacræ videlicet eucharistiæ. factos participes eterne hereditatis? anchora spei: celestibus inherentes ipsa rerum exhibitione veritatem assecuturos. Hos impossibile est renovari ad penitentiam. [hoc est rebatizari (*sic*) ut penitentiam]

The words in brackets added in the margin of MS.

tinct process of creation, so the Apostles were begotten unto God without the Sacrament of the Second Birth in a way peculiar to themselves. Similarly the original Twelve were never ordained by laying on of hands, the election of Christ and His breathing on them having superseded the ordinary form. The gift of Regeneration may have come to them, the first human founders of the Church, as the gift of Orders did, by a distinct and peculiar channel.

[c] "It is impossible for those who were once *washed*." Herbert, quoting from memory, has written *washed* for *enlightened*. The Greek is τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας; the Vulgate, "eos, qui semel sunt illuminati;" the Rheims, "those who were once illuminated." Baptism is called, in Tit. iii. 5, "*washing* of regeneration," λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας. And in allusion to the Sacrament of Baptism St. Paul says; "But ye are *washed*," ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε. It was also frequently called *illumination* or φωτισμὸς; in assigning the reason of which latter name, Justin Martyr places the former side by side with it; Καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμὸς, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διανοίαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων. "This *washing* is called *illumination*, because the minds of those who learn these things are enlightened." Herbert has confused the two terms, and put one for the other. (Bingham, vol. i. p. 474, col. 2.)

[d] "By the heavenly gift he signifieth the Communion of the Lord's Body and Blood."

Not so Chrysostom, who thinks that the heavenly gift (δωρεὰ ἐπουράνιος) is the remission of sins: δωρεᾶς ἐπουρανίου· τουτέστι τῆς ἀφέσεως, tom. xii. 96. A. And so Ambrose, quoted in the notes to the Bened. Edition of Lanfranc; "donum cæleste, hoc est, remissionem peccatorum." (Comment. in Ep. ad Heb., cap. vi. p. 215.) Lanfranc himself seems to have recognised a reference to the Holy Communion lower down, in the words "who have tasted the good Word of God," where he takes Word in a personal sense, his note being; "*Dei Verbum*]. Id est, Patris, qui in perceptione corporis et sanguinis ejus gustatur." This form of expression ("tasting") may have been suggested by the Holy Communion, and the words may have a subordinate application to the Sacrament; but the

Baptism; and elsewhere, *For it is impossible for those who were once washed*[c], *have tasted also the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the eternal inheritance, to be renewed again to penance.* By those who have been once washed, he meaneth the faithful who have been baptized; by the heavenly gift he signifieth the communion[d] of the Lord's Body and Blood, that is to say the holy Eucharist; and by those who are made partakers of the eternal inheritance he signifieth those who now cleave to heavenly things by the anchor of hope, and will hereafter by the manifestation of those things attain unto the truth. It is impossible that these should be renewed again unto repentance, that is, that they should be re-baptized, in order to their repentance; Heb. vi. 4, 6.

heavenly gift is probably Christ, God's "unspeakable gift" (2 Cor. ix. 15), whether received by simple faith, or by faith through the channel of the Eucharist. And thus Bengel; "*Donum cæleste* est Dei Filius (ut exprimitur, v. 6), *Christus*, qui per fidem, necnon in sacrâ ipsius Cœnâ gustatur." (Gnomon, ii. p. 424.) The remark of Moses Stuart upon the meaning of the verb γεύομαι is interesting. He says that when used *alone*, it means *the full enjoyment, perception*, or *experience of a thing*. Thus, to taste death (St. Matt. xvi. 28; St. John viii. 52; Heb. ii. 9), means to *experience, undergo* it. In the Acts it is used of *eating*, i.e. *partaking of food*, without any reference to a slight or tentative participation (of St. Peter, Acts x. 10; of St. Paul, Acts xx. 11; of the conspirators banded together under a curse, Acts xxiii. 14, where it is plainly equivalent to φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν, v. 21; and so in St. Luke xiv. 24, "None of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper"). This settles *St. Luke's* usage of the word. But what shall we say of St. Matt. xxvii. 34, "When He had tasted thereof (γευσάμενος), he would not drink;" and of St. John ii. 9, "When the ruler of the feast had tasted (ὡς ἐγεύσατο) the water that was made wine," &c.? Is there not here the exact notion of *sipping, by way of experiment*, which Stuart (as it appears to me) too entirely repudiates? (Comment. on Heb., pp. 350, 351.)

Bp. Wordsworth thus comments on the difference of case after the verb γεύομαι in the two subsequent verses (Heb. vi. 4, 5), γευσαμένους τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου and καλὸν γευσαμένους Θεοῦ ῥῆμα; but it seems to be questionable how far, as regards the New Testament use of the word, the remark will stand:

"The former phrase denotes that they were admitted to *have the taste of*, that is, a spiritual perception of, and relish for, the sweetness of the *heavenly gift*, first bestowed upon them when they were illuminated and made partakers of the Holy Ghost. The *accusative* signifies the regular habit of *feeding* on, as their *daily bread*."

agant. Eis enim sufficit sola penitentia. et lacrime. et amaritudo peccati. que præteritum penitentibus repræsentat[n] (*sic*) baptisma. Necesse vero habent ut lavent pedes. quibus super huius terrene conversationis pulverem gradiuntur. Habet christiana anima suos pedes. delectationes videlicet et consensus suos quibus super temporalia et sensibilia graditur. eorumque petulentia[f] (*sic*) coinquinatur. Hoc[s] (*sic*) igitur necesse est abluere pedes et confessione et penitentia nostrarum animarum mundare inquinamenta. et sacre præparari cenæ. quam dominus secutura vespera suis apposuit apostolis. et ut apostoli omnibus apponerent fidelibus in sui commemorationem præcepit. Inhiatis fratres huius præclare convivio cene. sed convivaturis* nostra absolutio. et nostræ absolutioni vestra fol. 226, b.

[e] *Repræsentat*—"which bringeth back." *Præsento* is to make a thing present by placing it before another; *Repræsento*, to make it present again, bring it back. Thus Cicero says (Phil. ii. 46, 118), "Corpus libenter obtulerim, si repræsentari morte meâ libertas civitatis potest." "Willingly would I offer my life, if by my death liberty could be again brought back to the state."

[f] "their feet, wherewith they walk upon the dust of an earthly conversation."

"A man in holy Baptism is washed entirely, not excepting his feet, but 'every whit;' yet, when afterwards he has to live in human affairs, he must needs tread upon the earth. Therefore the very affections of human nature, without which there is no living in this mortal state, are as it were feet, when we are affected by things human, and affected in such manner that, *if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us*. Daily, therefore, He Who intercedes for us washeth our feet; and in the Lord's Prayer itself we profess that we need to have our feet washed, as often as we say, *Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.* For, as it is written, *if we confess our sins*, He Who washed the feet of His disciples, *is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness*, even unto the feet, by which we have our conversation on the earth." (Bede, Opp., tom. v. 569; In Ev. Joannis, cap. xiii.)

[g] "On the night that was to follow," i.e. "later in the evening of that day." Our English Version makes the foot-washing to take place after

for to them sufficeth penitence alone, and tears and the bitterness of sin, which bringeth back [e] to penitents the effect of the Baptism which is passed. And yet they need to wash the feet wherewith they walk upon the dust of an earthly [f] conversation. The Christian soul hath its feet, that is to say its delights and consents, wherewith it walketh upon things temporal and seen, and is defiled by their filthiness. Of necessity, therefore, these must wash their feet, and purge away the defilements of their soul by confession and penitence, and so prepare themselves for the holy Supper, which the Lord, on the night that was to follow [g], set before His Apostles, and bade the Apostles set it before all the faithful in remembrance of Himself. Ye are longing, brethren, after the festival of this glorious Supper; but to those who purpose to be guests at it, our absolution [h] is necessary, and for our absolution your

the supper was ended (δείπνου γενομένου) (St. John xiii. 2); but in the first place the Vatican MS. and others read γινομένου, which would mean "while the supper was in progress;" nor, secondly, need δείπνου γενομένου mean, "supper being ended." It might mean, "Supper being prepared," [and they, therefore, sitting at it]. That the foot-washing took place *in the midst* of the Paschal Supper (and in all probability before the Institution of the Eucharist) seems clear, from our being told that after Our Lord had finished it, and resumed His mantle, He reclined again. See v. 12. Augustine says;

"*And supper having been made*, i.e. having been got ready, and laid on the table before them; not having been consumed and finished: for it was during supper that He rose, and washed His disciples' feet; as after this He sate at table again, and gave the sop to the traitor." (August. in Transl. of St. Thomas's Catena Aurea. ST. JOHN, vol. iv. part ii. p. 421.)

[h] "to those who purpose to be guests at it our absolution is necessary."

It does not appear that in the Primitive Church absolution was held to be a necessary *universal* qualification for the Eucharist; though "heretics, schismatics, and excommunicate persons, sometimes being formally cut off from the Church by her censures, sometimes voluntarily by their own separation, until they had made confession and renunciation of their errors, and were reconciled by imposition of hands and absolution, they were reckoned in the number of those to whom the communion of prayers and this holy sacrament was denied." (Bingham, vol. ii. pp. 796, 797, bk. xv. ch. iv. sec. 6.) It will be seen from consulting book xv. chap. viii. of Bingham's great work that, for persons not guilty of direct and gross violations of the Baptismal Covenant (from whom public penance, and a period of probation, and proofs of a better mind were required), the preparation for the Eucha-

penitentia necessaria est. Ecce sacros quadragesimæ peregistis dies. diligenter attendite. quibus alimentis vestra impinguastis ieiunia. Sancta quippe ieiunia. suam habent pinguedinem. Penitentia et confessio peccati. lamenta. abstinentia peccandi. ieiunantium fidelium sufficiens sagina. Sanctam frequentare ecclesiam. ecclasticis (*sic*) interesse obsequiis. porrigere cibum pauperi. vestire nudum. saturare esurientem. potare sitientem. consolari oppressum. visitare infirmum colligere peregrinum. vestram procul dubio saginant abstinentiam. Vacare iurgiis. interesse negotiis forensibus. circumvenire fratrem. defrudare depositum. accusare innocentem. falsum proferre iudicium. obsequium sunt sathanæ? et errantium animarum interitus. Resumite spiritum obsecramus. et vestras colligite vires. Hodie sanctam ingrediemini

rist thought necessary in the Primitive Church was almost exactly that prescribed in the Catechism; "To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, stedfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of His death; and be in charity with all men."

The Council of Trent makes Sacramental Confession binding on those who would communicate, in these words (Session xiii. can. xi.);

"And lest so great a Sacrament should be received unworthily, and therefore unto death and condemnation, the Holy Synod decrees and declares that *for those whose conscience is weighed down by mortal sin*, how contrite soever they may suppose themselves to be, yet if they have an opportunity of resorting to a confessor, Sacramental confession must necessarily precede" [the Eucharist].

It does not appear from hence that in case of persons NOT labouring under mortal sin, Sacramental confession (with its complement Absolution) is reckoned necessary as a preparation for the Eucharist even by the decrees of the Roman Church.

But we see from the passage before us that more than four hundred years before the Council of Trent the necessity for previous absolution is stated in the most unqualified manner.

[1] "sufficiently high feeding." A quaint expression. Though their fasts made them meagre and wasted in body, they enriched and even pampered

penitence is necessary. Behold, ye have passed through the sacred days of Lent. Consider, I pray you, diligently with what nourishments ye have made fat your fasts. For holy fasts have a fatness of their own. Penitence and confession of sin, lamentations over it, and to abstain from sinning, these things are a sufficiently[i] high feeding of the faithful in their fasts. To resort ofttimes to the holy Church, to give attendance at the Church's acts of worship, to deal thy meat to the poor, to clothe the naked, to fill the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to comfort the oppressed, to visit the sick, to take the stranger in, these things without a doubt are a high feeding of your abstinence. Whereas, on the other hand, to stir up strifes, to give attendance in suits of law, to go beyond his brother, to take away by fraud what is committed to his trust, to accuse the innocent, to give wrong judgment, these things are a worship of Satan, and the death of erring souls. Take breath, we beseech you, and gather up all your strength. To-day ye shall enter into[j] the holy Church:

See Isa. lviii. 6, 7.

the soul or inner man, when accompanied by the good works specified—good works, however, which are just as incumbent upon men at all seasons of the Christian year. *Sagina* (from the Greek *σάττω, to load*) is properly the stuffing of animals with food, in order to fat them. The participle of its cognate verb *sagino* is used in the Vulgate of the "stalled ox," Prov. xv. 17; of "the fatted calf" of St. Luke xv. 23, 27, 30; and of the "fatted bullocks," to which the mercenaries of the Egyptian army are compared. (Jer. xlvi. 21.) The word itself is used of the fodder of kine in Ecclus. xxxviii. 26, "He is diligent to give the kine *fodder*."

[j] "To-day ye shall enter into the holy Church."

These words "holy Church" are to be understood of the building. In the early Church the different grades of Penitents had different stations in the Church, the first class (those convicted of notorious crimes) standing in the atrium (or cloistered court without); the second (called *audientes* or *hearers*) being posted in the *narthex* (or porch of the building), where they might hear the reading of Scripture and the Sermon; the third or most advanced (called *substrati*, the prostrate) being admitted to the lower end of the nave, where after the Sermon they received benediction with imposition of hands from the Bishop or Priest. When his full term of penance had expired, and the sinner was to be reconciled to the Church, he was brought to the Altar in his penitential dress (sackcloth) and there with imposition of hands received to full communion. Or, when the crime had been more than ordinarily scandalous, he received

ecclesiam. abrenuntiate omnibus pompis. et operibus sathanæ. Abluuntur hodie vestri pedes id est affectus in humilitate salvatoris. nullatenus ad vomitum et vestrum præteritum lutum revertamini. Fugite sanctum contristare spiritum. Sanctus quippe spiritus effugit fictum. et discedit a cogitationibus quæ sunt sine intellectu. Inchoatur hodie illa dominici corporis et sanguinis cena. ad quam cunctorum fidelium societas convocatur. Colligetis hodie vestrum salvatorem in membris suis. et pro inmortali cena. cenam præparabitis vestri salvatoris pauperibus. Hec dies finis legalis. et inchoatio est evangelici sacrificii. Hactenus tenebræ. abinde lux. et soliditas promisse veritatis. Hodie sacram vestri salvatoris celebrabitis cenam. et crastino eiusdem salvatoris contemplabimini gloriam.. Crastina omnipotens rerum dominus triumphabit. in curru* crucis pupurato (*sic*) sui effusione cruoris. et sathanas post triumphantem victus (*sic*) exterminabitur a cordibus fidelium. et regnum eius in æternum dissipabitur. Porro perhendie sanctis condolebitis apostolis. et resurrectionem dominicam piis affectibus suspirabitis. Fratres. valde festino. et compendiose sacra præ-

f. 226 b, col. 2.

his absolution under the reading-desk, in the open body of the church, and in full view of all the congregation. The ordinary time for administering this Absolution (for which Lent was considered a period of preparation) was "the day of our Saviour's passion, or *rather the day on which He was betrayed*. For so St. Ambrose says expressly that on the day that our Lord gave Himself for us, it was usual in the Church to relax men's penance, or to grant them absolution."

[See all these points fully discussed in Bingham's Antiquities, book viii. chap. iii. sec. 5; chap. iv. sec. 3; and chap. v. sec. 3. Also, book xix. chap. ii. sec. 2, 3, 10. Also, book xxi. chap. i. sec. 13.]

We may suppose, then, that Herbert alludes to the custom of bringing

renounce, therefore, all the pomps and works of Satan. Your feet are washed to-day, that is to say, your affections are cleansed by the humiliation of your Saviour. In no wise return ye to your vomit, and to your past wallowing in the mire. Fear ye to *grieve the Holy Spirit; for the Holy Spirit flees from the deceitful, and withdraws himself from thoughts that are without understanding.* To-day is begun[k] that Supper of the Lord's Body and Blood, to which the whole body of the faithful is called together. To-day ye shall take in your Saviour in His members, and in order to gain an immortal supper, ye shall prepare a supper for your Saviour's poor. This day is the end of the Sacrifice of the Law, and the beginning of the Gospel Sacrifice. Up to this day there was darkness: henceforth there is light, and the very substance of the promised truth. To-day ye shall celebrate the Holy Supper of your Saviour; and to-morrow ye shall fasten your eyes upon the glory of the same Saviour. To-morrow will the Almighty Lord of all things triumph in His Chariot of the Cross, dyed purple with the shedding of His Blood, and Satan, bound in chains behind the Conqueror, shall thenceforth be expelled from the hearts of the faithful, and his kingdom shall be overthrown for ever. Moreover, on the day after to-morrow ye shall weep with the holy Apostles, and shall long and sigh with devout affections for the Resurrection of the Lord. Brethren, I make great haste, and in a brief sum. I run

See 2 Pet. ii. 22. Eph. iv. 30. Wisdom i. 5.

See Col. ii. 14, 15.

the penitents for absolution from their remote station to the upper part of the church. See further on; "After ye have been brought into the church, absolution has to be given you."

[k] "To-day is *begun* that Supper of the Lord's Body and Blood." The idea seems to be that the Sacrifice began on the Thursday (in our Lord's intention, Who then gave Himself up to death) and was consummated in act on the Friday. Compare the words of Institution (St. Luke xxii. 19, 20), "This is My Body, which is" (*διδόμενον*) "BEING GIVEN" (now in process of giving) "for you." . . . "This cup is the New Testament in My Blood, which is" (*ἐκχυνόμενον*) "BEING SHED" (in process of shedding) "for you." The first Eucharist, too, is regarded as a beginning, and every subsequent celebration as a continuation of the first.

stringo sacramenta. set vobis in ecclesiam introductis. facienda est vestra absolutio. et nos sanctum crisma consecraturi sumus. Prolixa officia.

[l] In the Roman Pontifical the penitents are directed to be led into the church by the Bishop, who holds the hand of one of them, and the rest follow in a string, holding each a hand of the one going before him. This no doubt is the ceremony to which Herbert refers. The absolution is given in these words;

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who by the giving up of Himself, and the shedding of His spotless Blood, hath vouchsafed to purge away the sins of the whole world, and Who said unto His disciples, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,'—of the number of which disciples He hath willed me, though unworthy, to be a minister, at the intercession of Mary the mother of God, and of the blessed Michael the Archangel, and of St. Peter the Apostle (to whom was given the power of binding and loosing), and of all Saints,—may He, through my ministry, absolve you from all your sins in whatever things ye have done amiss, whether by thought, or word, or deed,—by the mediation of His holy Blood, which was shed for the remission of sins; and may He vouchsafe to bring you, loosed from the chains of your sins, unto the kingdom of heaven; Who with God the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen."

After this absolution, a benediction is given them, and they are then allowed to cut their hair and shave their beards, and to exchange the penitent's habit for other clothes.

[m] "we are about to consecrate the holy Chrism." "There are two sorts of Chrism; the one a composition of oil and balsam, made use of in Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders; the other is only plain oil consecrated by the Bishop, and used for catechumens and extreme unction. The Chrism is consecrated with great ceremony upon Holy Thursday." (Hook's Church Dictionary, Art. CHRISM.)

The following account of the Form and Order of Blessing the Chrism according to the Use of the Church of Norwich, is taken from a most interesting MS. copy of the Use of Norwich now in the possession of C. C. C., Cambridge;

"*Procession for the benediction of the Chrism.* Let the procession for the blessing of the Chrism be arranged by the Precentor in the following manner. First, let two Priests walk in procession bearing two banners. Then two taper bearers. After them two bearing censers. Then two carrying two texts of the Gospels. All should have stoles worn as Deacons wear them (*more Levitico*). Then follow three Presbyters, having stoles worn in a similar manner, and vested in dalmatics. Of these, the middle one should carry the Chrism. He on the right carries the holy oil. He on the left the oil for the sick. But let four Presbyters carry a pall stretched upon four poles over the bags which contain the ampullæ. Finally, following

through the holy mysteries [of the season]; but after ye have been brought into the Church[l], absolution has to be given you, and we are about to consecrate the holy Chrism[m]. To-day's offices are long; but the Holy

these, let two walk carrying two crosses, all having their stoles worn after the manner of Deacons. The procession being thus arranged, let it pass through the midst of the choir at a slow pace, till all arrive at the step which lies over the head of Herbert the Bishop."

The benediction of the oil for the Catechumens, and of that for the Sick, and the composition of the Chrism, is still performed with great ceremony in the Roman Church on Maundy Thursday. The procession to the Altar is directed by the Pontifical to be in the following order. 1. Censer bearer. 2. Two taper bearers. 3. Seven Subdeacons, two abreast, two abreast, and the remaining three abreast. 4. Twelve Presbyters, walking two and two. 5. Subdeacon carrying the Book of the Gospels, with a maniple laid upon it. 6. The Deacon with the Assistant Chaplain on his right. 7. The Bishop, supported by the two senior Canons of the Church (if in his Cathedral; otherwise, he walks between the Deacon and the Assistant Chaplain). (If an Archbishop performs the function, his crossbearer walks between the two taper bearers.) When they have arrived at the Altar, the Service of the Mass proceeds as usual, till they arrive at those words of the Canon; "Through Whom, O Lord, Thou createst all these things, which are always good." Immediately before which, the ceremony of blessing the oils and making the Chrism is introduced. The oil for the Sick is first exorcised and blessed. Then the oil for the Catechumens, and that for the Chrism, together with the balsam for compounding the latter, is solemnly fetched by a procession, which bears them to the Altar, while two Cantores sing a processional Hymn. The Bishop, with six Priests on either side of him, seats himself at a table placed in front of the Altar, where the balsam is blessed, and mixed with the oil for the Chrism. The Chrism is then breathed upon by the Bishop and Priests, and exorcised by the Bishop. Soon after follows the Proper Preface, which is as follows;

"It is very meet, right, &c. . . . that we should at all times . . . give thanks unto Thee, Almighty Father, Everlasting God, Who in the beginning, among other gifts of Thy bounty, didst command the earth to bring forth fruitbearing trees, among which olive-trees, which might minister unto us this rich liquor, should be brought forth, the fruit whereof should serve for the holy Chrism. For David, moreover, foreknowing by the Spirit of Prophecy the Sacraments of Thy Grace, sang that our countenances should be made cheerful with oil; and, when the offences of the world were expiated by the deluge of old poured forth upon it, a dove, which by an olive-branch displayed a resemblance of the gift which was to be, announced that peace was restored to the earth. Which thing in the latter times is declared by manifest effects, when, while the waters of Baptism drown the guilt of all crimes, this unction of oil maketh our countenances cheerful and serene. Hence also Thou gavest a commandment to Moses Thy servant,

set spiritus sanctus intererit nostris sacramentis. qui a patre et filio æqualiter procedens. cum patre et filio vivit et regnat unus et verus deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

that he should appoint his brother Aaron priest by the pouring of this ointment upon him, after he had first been washed with water. And hereunto was added a fuller honour, when Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord demanded to be washed in the waters of Jordan by John, that, the Holy Ghost being sent down upon Him in the likeness of a dove, Thou mightest manifest Thine Only-begotten Son, in whom Thou wast well pleased, by the testimony of a voice following [thereupon], and mightest most evidently show that this was the unction of which David the Prophet had sung, that He should be anointed with the oil of gladness above His fellows. We beseech Thee therefore, O holy Lord, Almighty Father, Everlasting God, through the same Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord, that Thou wouldst vouchsafe to sancti✠fy with Thy bene✠diction the richness of this Thy creature, and to mix therewith the virtue of the Holy✠Ghost, the power of Christ Thy Son working together with it, from whose holy Name it hath received the name of Chrism, whence Thou hast anointed Priests, Kings, Prophets, and Martyrs; so that for those who shall be renewed by the spiritual laver of Baptism, Thou mayest confirm this creature of Chrism for a Sacrament of perfected salvation and life; and that by the infused sanctification of the anointing, the corruption of the first birth being done away, the holy temple of each one of them may be fragrant with the odour of an acceptable life of innocence; and that, according to the Sacrament of Thy appointing, they,

Spirit will be present in our Sacraments, Who proceeding equally from the Father and the Son, together with the Father and the Son[n] liveth and reigneth, one true God for ever and ever.

having the honours of king, and priest, and prophet shed upon them, may be clad in the vestment of the incorruptible gift, so that it may be to them, who have been born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, the Chrism of salvation, and may make them partakers of eternal life, and sharers of heavenly glory."

Then follows the benediction of the oil for the Catechumens. Anything that remains of the Chrism and oils consecrated last year is directed to be consumed in the lamps which burn before the Sacrament.

[Pontificale Romanum, (Mechliniæ, 1845), Pars Tertia, p. 605, sequent.]

[n] "I must note also, that they" (the primitive Christians) "always concluded their sermons, as we now do, with a doxology to the Holy Trinity, as may be seen not only in the sermons of St. Austin, Chrysostom, Basil, Leo, Fulgentius, and others, who lived after Arius broached his heresy against the Divinity of our Saviour; but also in those of Origen, and others who lived before, such as Dionysius of Alexandria, and the rest that are mentioned by St. Basil, who had seen their homilies, out of which he wrote a vindication of that ancient form against some, who pretended to charge him with innovation for using a form, which, he says, the ancients had always used before him." (Basil, de Spir. Sancto, cap. 29.) Bingham, vol. ii. p. 728, book xiv. ch. iv. sec. 23.

VII.

In red letters.

SERMO

IN DIE SANCTÆ PASCHE.

HODIERNA die fratres carissimi dominicæ resurrectionis prærogativa insignitur. et resurgenti domino universitas rerum congratulatur. Inde

[a] "marked by the honour which the Resurrection hath over other festivals" — *Dominicæ Resurrectionis prærogativâ insignitur.*" The original meaning of the word *prerogative* (here applied to the precedence of Easter over other Festivals) is well-known to the classical student. It is an adjective, agreeing with *centuria*, a political division of the Roman people. The *centuria prærogativa* was the century which was asked for its opinion before the rest, and so *voted first*. The other centuries usually voted in the same manner as the first, thus shewing a deference to the sacredness of lot, by which the right of voting first had been determined. And hence the word came to mean a *decision* or *election*, the decision being usually made according to the voice of the prerogative century. It means also a *prognostic*, or *sure token*, the final decision being capable of being augured from the way in which the prerogative tribe voted. All the above meanings are purely classical. But the signification of *preference* or *precedence* (which yet is very easily deduced from the original meaning) seems not to have made its appearance earlier than Pliny.

[b] "The whole world of creatures saluteth the rising Lord." This idea of Nature, in her every district, greeting the risen Saviour at Eastertide,—more suited perhaps for Sacred Poetry than for a Sermon,—is beautifully expressed in a noble processional hymn of Venantius Fortunatus (Bishop of Poictiers, b. 530, d. 609), which was translated by Cranmer, and designed for use in the Reformed Church :—

"Salve festa dies, toto venerabilis ævo,
Qua Deus infernum vicit et astra tenet.
Ecce renascentis testatur gratia mundi
Omnia cum Domino dona redîsse suo.
Namque triumphanti post tristia Tartara Christo
Undique fronde nemus, gramina flore favent.
Legibus inferni oppressis super astra meantem
Laudant rite Deum lux, polus, arva, fretum.

VII.

A SERMON

ON THE HOLY FESTIVAL OF EASTER.

TO-DAY, dearly beloved brethren, is marked by the honour[a] which the Resurrection hath over other Festivals; and the whole[b] world of creatures saluteth the

Mobilitas anni mensium, lux alma dierum,
Horarum splendor, stridula* puncta favent," &c.

Cranmer's translation has been lost. We present the reader with one from a modern Hymnal;—

"Welcomé, happy morning! age to age shall say;
Hell to-day is vanquished, Heaven is won to-day!
Lo! the Dead is living, God for evermore!
Him, their true Creator, all His works adore.

"Earth with joy confesses, clothing her for spring,
All good gifts returned with her returning King.
Bloom in every meadow, leaves on every bough,
Speak His sorrows ended, hail His triumph now.

"Months in due succession, days of lengthening light,
Hours, and passing moments, praise Thee in their flight;
Brightness of the morning, sky, and fields, and sea,
Vanquisher of darkness, bring their praise to Thee." &c.

But *the* Hymn which Herbert's expressions most forcibly remind us of, belongs to a writer much later and more renowned than Venantius (who lived in the latter part of the sixth century), Adam of St. Victor, who, dying about A.D. 1173 (at earliest), was probably a contemporary of our Bishop in his later days. Herbert, therefore, probably never saw this Hymn; but the resemblance which some of his expressions bear to it is remarkable.

"Mundi renovatio
Nova parit gaudia,
Resurgente Domino
Conresurgunt omnia:

* The moments are called "stridula" (noisy), because it was anciently supposed that the sun emitted a sound in making his circuit round the earth. See Daniel's Thesaurus Hymnologicus, tom. i. pp. 169—172. A Biographical Notice of Venantius Fortunatus will be found in Trench's Sacred Latin Poetry, pp. 112, 113. From an Italian minstrel he became a French Bishop, and was intimate with Queen Rhadegunda after her divorce from Clotaire.

celum stellis et angelis loquitur mortalibus. Inde. aer. nives.. et glacies continet suas. Inde aqua præbet se. viabilem insidentibus plantis. Inde infernus animas quas habebat. et terra reddit corpora que fovebat. Inde concentus avium. et omne

Elementa serviunt,
Et Auctoris sentiunt
Quanta sint solennia.

"Ignis volat mobilis,
Et aër volubilis,
Fluit aqua labilis,
Terra manet stabilis,
Alta petunt levia,
Centrum tenent gravia,
Renovantur omnia.

"Cœlum fit serenius,
Et mare tranquillius,
Spirat aura levius,
Vallis nostra floruit;
Revirescunt arida,
Recalescunt frigida,
Quia ver intepuit.

"Gelu mortis solvitur,
Princeps mundi tollitur,
Et ejus destruitur
In nobis imperium;
Dum tenere voluit
In quo nihil habuit,
Jus amisit proprium.

"Vita mortem superat;
Homo jam recuperat,
Quod prius amiserat,
Paradisi gaudium.
Viam præbet facilem
Cherubim, versatilem,
Ut Deus promiserat,
Amovendo gladium."

Abp. Trench is inclined to believe that Adam of St. Victor is the greatest Latin hymnologist of the middle ages. See his memoir of this author, Sacred Latin Poetry, p. 53, &c., and the Hymn itself, p. 136. Adam of St. Victor is generally thought to have been a native of Brittany, though some suppose England to be his birthplace.

[c] "the feet which settle upon it"—*aqua præbet se viabilem insidentibus*

rising Lord. From one side the heaven speaks to mortal men by stars and angels. From another the sky holdeth back its snows and frosts. From another the water gives a passage to the feet which [c] settle upon it. From another quarter, hell gives up the souls which it had in keeping, and the earth restores the bodies which [d] she was cherishing. While from another the

See St. Matt. xxviii. 5, &c.; St. Mark xvi. 5—7; St. Luke xxiv. 4—7, 23; St. John xx. 12, 13.

plantis. It is a curious coincidence (and may serve as an internal evidence of the Sermons being Herbert's) that he uses the same verb (though in another sense) in his letters, on the subject of Our Lord's walking on the waters; The words are (Ep. xxii. Ed. Anstruther, p. 42, last line), "Vester gubernator imperavit ventis, vester gubernator *plantis non sidentibus super fluctus ambulavit*" (with feet that did not sink in).—But when did our Lord walk upon the waves *after* His Resurrection? The allusion probably is to St. John xxi. 4, 7, where Our Lord stands on the shore, and St. Peter plunges into the water; but neither here nor elsewhere do we find a repetition of the miracle of St. Matt. xiv. 25. Herbert is writing rhetorically, and mentions several phenomena as attendant upon our Lord's Resurrection, for which there is no warrant in Scripture; the appearance of new stars (like that of Bethlehem); the geniality of the weather, though it had recently been cold (see St. John xviii. 18); the solid pavement presented by the waves to the Saviour's footsteps; the song of birds. This makes a good picture; perhaps the author never advanced it as strict matter of fact.

[d] "Hell (*infernus*) gives up the souls which it had in keeping, and the earth restores the bodies which she was cherishing."

By hell here is meant (as in the Creed) the place of departed spirits. And in the same sense the word is used in Sermon VIII., where we read; "Immaculatum in cruce relinquitur Corpus; et anima properat ad *infernum.*" (The spotless Body [of Christ] is left on the cross, while His soul hastens to the place of departed spirits.) But in the same Sermon the very same word seems to be used of Gehenna, *the place of torment.* The preacher is speaking of the spiritual effects of the fall; and he says; "Sordebat mundus nidoribus et spurcitiis execrandorum sacrificiorum, et implebatur infernus infidelium agminibus animarum." [Hell was filled with troops of unbelieving souls.] The truth is that at that early period no distinction was drawn between Hades and Gehenna, and the two places were confounded. The allusion is doubtless to St. Matt. xxvii. 52: "The graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept, arose, and came out of the graves after His Resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many;" on which Dean Alford comments thus; "The graves were opened *at the moment of the death of our Lord;* but inasmuch as He is the firstfruits from the dead—the Resurrection and the Life—the bodies of the saints in them *did not arise till He rose,* and having appeared to many after His Resurrection,—possibly during the forty days,—went up with Him into His glory." Herbert's phraseology discriminates well between the destiny of the body and that of the soul after death.

incorporeum. et corporeum in resurgentis redemptoris triumpho. infatigabiliter exultat. Abiit luctus de consilio caiphæ. et de perditione iude. et lamenta fidelium de passione et cruce dominica. desiccata sunt. Audivistis dominum saciatum fellæ (*sic*). et potatum aceto. set hodierna die considet in celestibus cum patre et spiritu sancto. humani generis saciatus redemptione. Dicebant domino crucifixo impii iudæi. Si rex israel est. descendat nunc de cruce. et credimus ei. Nequam et virulenta inproperatio. et letalibus digna suppliciis.
fol. 227. set dominus suam tegebat potestatem. exhibebat

[e] "satiated with gall."

The expression "satiated" is hardly accurate: for St. Matthew tells us that our Lord did but taste, and then rejected, the potion. "They gave Him vinegar to drink, mingled with gall: and when He had tasted thereof, He would not drink." (St. Matt. xxvii. 34.) St. Mark gives a slightly different account of the ingredients of this potion; representing it as "wine mingled with myrrh." We may either adopt St. Augustine's mode of reconciling the two (De Consens. Evang., iii. 11), "St. Matthew puts gall for anything bitter; and wine mingled with myrrh is most bitter; although there may have been both gall and myrrh to make the wine exceeding bitter;" or we may suppose with Dr. Da Costa, that St. Matthew expresses the myrrh *according to its taste*, which was *bitter* like *gall*, St. Mark *according to its quality*. The "vinegar" of the one and "wine" of the other present no difficulty, Grotius observing that among the ancients vinegar was sometimes called wine. (Da Costa's Four Witnesses, p. 416, and note.) Bengel's solution is that the liquor was "drugged with myrrh, according to custom, but adulterated also with gall from malice." (Gnom., vol. i. p. 187.) Dean Alford's observation is much to the point, that St. Matthew, *looking rather to the fulfilment of Prophecy* than to the matter-of-fact detail, represents the potion in the very words of Ps. lxix. 21.

[f] "to-day He sitteth in heavenly places with God the Father."

How can it be said that on the *day of His Resurrection* Christ sat in heavenly places with God the Father? Some divines have entertained the theory that our Lord ascended into heaven on the day of His Resurrection; that He was on His passage thither when He said to St. Mary Magdalen, "Go to My brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto My Father, and your Father;" that in fact He retired to heaven after every interview with His disciples; and that the Ascension of Acts i. 9, at the end of the forty days, was only the more than usually solemn close of a series of similar

melody of birds, and everything, corporeal and incorporeal, rejoiceth in the Redeemer's triumph, and resteth not day and night. Mourning for the counsel of Caiaphas, and for the treachery of Judas, hath taken flight; and the tears of the faithful for the Passion and Cross of the Lord are dried up. Ye have heard that the Lord was satiated[e] with gall, and had vinegar given him to drink; but to-day[f] He sitteth in heavenly places, with God the Father and the Holy Ghost, satiated with the redemption of mankind. The blaspheming Jews said to the crucified Lord; *If He be the King of Israel, let Him now come down from the cross, and we will believe Him.* A wicked and venomous reviling, and worthy of extremest punishment. But the Lord [the while] was hiding His power, was shewing forth His long-suffering,

See St. Matt. xxvii. 34; St. Mark xv. 23; and St. John xix. 29.

See Eph. i. 20, 21, and Isa. liii. 11.

St. Matt. xxvii. 42.

manifestations. This is the view maintained by Kinkel in the *Studien und Kritiken;* but it is successfully attacked by Stier, who shews that the usual view of the Ascension having been for forty days deferred is the true one. (Stier's Words of Jesus, vol. viii. p. 85, &c.) Bishop Ellicott says of Kinkel's view that "it is plainly to be rejected, as inconsistent with Acts i. 3, and numerous other passages in all the four Gospels." (Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord, p. 376, *footnote.*) But Kinkel's view is not likely to have been heard of in Herbert's time, much less to have been accepted by an orthodox Bishop. What then are we to make of his assertion that "on the day of the Resurrection Christ sat with the Father?" We may take it as a rhetorical and poetical *prolepsis* of what was soon to be. It was in the line of his argument to draw the liveliest contrast between our Lord's state at the time of His Passion and His state subsequently to the Resurrection, and so he naturally introduces a particular which was not literally fulfilled till after His Ascension. The inaccuracy as to fact may be justified by remarking that, according to our Lord's own message to His brethren (St. John xx. 17, "I ascend"—AM ASCENDING—"to My Father"), the Resurrection was the commencement of the Ascension. "The present tense," says Bp. Ellicott, "is to be regarded as *temporal*,—as indicating a process which had in fact already begun." "If, on the one hand, St. Luke has told us how the Lord 'was carried up into heaven,' (St. Luke xxiv. 51), and St. Mark has followed Him with the eye of faith even up to the moment of His session at the right hand of God, (St. Mark xvi. 19), no less, on the other, is our text a most significant testimony from the beloved Apostle, that *when the Lord arose, that ascension had virtually commenced, that He rose to ascend, and that in the early dawning of that Easter morn the Lord's return to the throne of Omnipotence was already begun:*—'I ascend to My Father and your Father, and to My God and your God.'" (Historical Lectures, pp. 375, 376.)

pacientiam humanam operabatur salutem. et qui nimirum iudæis insultantibus noluit de cruce descendere. contestantibus angelis. et suorum confessione custodum hodie resurrexit de sepulchro. Quapropter fratres dilectissimi ad gloriosum spectaculum convenite. et quæ beatæ virginis. et sanctis apostolis de dominica resurrectione reserantur parili congratulatione audite. Maria inquit marcus magdalene. et maria iacobi et salome emerunt aromata. ut venientes ungerent ihesum. Usque ad id quod sequitur præcedet vos in galileam. ibi eum videbitis sicut dixit vobis. Commendanda sanctarum mulierum fides. et digna

g "the things which are revealed to the blessed Virgin."

"Mediæval imagination has supposed, but Scripture does not state, that her Son appeared to Mary after His Resurrection from the dead. (See, for example, Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Christi*, p. 666, Lyons, 1642; and Ruperti, *De Divinis Officiis*, vii. 25, tom. iv. p. 92, Venice, 1751.) St. Ambrose is considered to be the first writer who suggested the idea, and reference is made to his treatise, *De Virginitate*, i. 3; but it is quite certain that the text has been corrupted, and that it is of Mary Magdalene that he is there speaking. Another reference is usually given to St. Anselm. The treatise quoted is not St. Anselm's, but Eadmer's. (See Eadmer, *De Excellentiâ Mariæ*, ch. v., appended to Anselm's Works, p. 138, Paris, 1721.) Ten appearances are related by the Evangelists as having occurred in the forty days intervening between Easter and Ascension Day, but none to Mary. She was doubtless living at Jerusalem with John, cherished with the tenderness which her tender soul would have specially needed, and which undoubtedly she found pre-eminently in St. John. We have no record of her presence at the Ascension." (See Mr. Meyrick's article, St. Mary the Virgin, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.)

In the passage of Eadmer referred to by Mr. Meyrick, the silence of Holy Scripture respecting any appearance of the Risen Saviour to the Virgin is thus ingeniously accounted for;—"But should any one ask why the Evangelists do not relate that the most dutiful Lord, when rising from the dead, appeared first and principally to this His sweet Mother to mitigate her sorrows, we make a reply which we heard from a certain wise man when we enquired of him this very matter. He said, 'The authority of the evangelical narrative is well known to be so weighty that nothing is found in it which might be easily inferred (*dependens*), nothing useless, nothing redundant; therefore if it had been described that to the Lord's Mother, to the mistress of the world, her Son when rising from the grave

was working out the salvation of men; and He Who would not forsooth come down from the cross, at the taunting speeches of the Jews, He, by the testimony of angels, and by the confession of His own guards, rose from the sepulchre to-day. Wherefore, dearly beloved brethren, come ye together to this glorious spectacle, and listen to the things which are revealed to the blessed [g] Virgin and the Holy Apostles concerning the Lord's Resurrection, with a joyful welcome like [h] theirs. *Mary Magdalene*[i], saith St. Mark, *and Mary the mother of James and Salome, brought sweet spices that they might come and anoint Jesus* . . . . down to that which followeth, *He shall go before you into Galilee, there shall ye see Him, as He said unto you.* The faith of the holy St. Mark xvi. 1—8.

had appeared, as to any other person, and had given her proof of His resurrection, who would not have accounted such a notice superfluous? Thus one would put the queen of heaven and earth and of every creature on a footing with this person or that, man or woman, to whom He chanced to appear. The Spirit rested fully and perfectly on her, and revealed to her her Son's doings more clearly than the light. The Evangelists would write that at one time and another He exhibited Himself in this or that form to this or that person."

Eadmer, the secretary and biographer of Anselm, was a contemporary of Herbert; and this passage therefore shews how firmly, in the time of our author, the belief in our Lord's appearance to His mother after the Resurrection had established itself in the mind of Christendom. St. Mark's express assertion (xvi. 9) that "when Jesus was risen, early, the first day of the week, He appeared first to Mary Magdalene," Maldonatus understands to mean that He appeared to her—not before He appeared to any other woman, but—*before He appeared to His Apostles.* (Comment. in Matt. Evang., vol. ii. p. 457, in St. Matt. xxviii. 9.) And in reckoning up the different appearances of our Lord after the Resurrection, he says; "First, it is to be believed that He appeared to His mother, not because the Evangelists say it was so, but because it was becoming that such should be the case. Nor do I much admire their diligence who spend a great deal of trouble in refuting this opinion, which has now established itself in the minds of almost all Catholics."

[h] "a joyful welcome like theirs." *Earilis* in Classical Latin seems to be chiefly a poetical word. It is used by Ovid and Lucretius.

[i] This is evidently the text of the Sermon, which is prefaced by a short address on the occasion of its delivery. Similar prefatory addresses to Sermons were practised by preachers of a much later date. It seems to have been the custom of Massillon and Bourdaloue, before dropping down upon their text, to say something by way of introduction.

divina receptione exenia[k]. Timentibus. et latentibus apostolis. per cuneos satellitum. et turbas perfidorum iudæorum. sanctæ mulieres. erumpunt. aromata ferunt. ad sepulchrum properant. et de lapidis revolutione pia disceptatione conferunt. Quis inquiunt revolvet nobis lapidem ab hostio monumenti? Hinc respicientes. viderunt revolutum lapidem. et angelum sedentem a dextris monumenti. Cuius facies erat sicut fulgur. et vestimenta candida sicut nix. Qui dixit eis. Nolite timere vos. Et adiecit. Ihesum queritis nazarenum. crucifixum. surrexit non est hic. Ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum. Ite dicite discipulis eius et petro. quia surrexit a mortuis. Fide fratres venite ad cognitionem dominicæ resurrectionis. ferte aromata sancta videlicet opera. implete sanctam ecclesiam bono odore. hoc est sacrarum virtutum opinione. iuxta illud apostoli. Bonus odor Christi sumus in omni loco. Sancte mulieres inveniunt angelum. quoniam hii visionem et colloquium pro-

[k] "digna divinâ receptione *exenia.*" The history of this word, which Herbert uses elsewhere, is as follows. From ξένος, the Greek word for a friend or guest, came the adjective ξένιος, "belonging to friendship or hospitality." Τὸ ξένιον (sub. δῶρον), Lat. *xenium*, signified that with which we are bound to supply friends or guests,—board and lodging, in the first instance,—then, any gift or present. The thirteenth book of Martial's Epigrams is called "Xenia" (or "Presents"), because it treats of such things as were commonly given as presents.

In the mediæval Latin the word took to itself an initial *e*, which has nothing to do with the etymology, and was probably prefixed for euphony. It was further disguised by being spelt with two *n*'s, and accordingly having its second syllable lengthened. Ducange gives instances of its signifying bridal presents, and also certain presents of game made by feudatories of the Roman Church at the greater festivals.

[l] This is rather a distortion of the facts. There is no reason to doubt the courage of the holy women who sought our Lord's sepulchre with the view of embalming Him. They must have prepared themselves to face the Roman guard, which they knew to have been posted round the

women is to be commended, and their offering was worthy of being accepted by God. When the Apostles hid themselves in fear, the holy women forced their way through the ranks of the guards, and through the multitude of the unbelieving[1] Jews. They bring their spices, they hasten to the Sepulchre, and reason with themselves in devout conference, concerning the rolling away of the stone. *Who*, they said, *shall roll us away the stone from the mouth of the Sepulchre? And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away, and an angel sitting on the right hand of the sepulchre, whose countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow; who said unto them, Fear not ye:* and added, *Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified; He is risen; He is not here: behold the place where they laid Him. Go your way, tell His disciples and Peter that He is risen from the dead.*

See St. Matt. xxviii. 1, 4, 5; and St. Luke xxiii. 55, 56, and xxiv. 1, 9—11. St. Mark xvi. 3, 4. St. Mark xvi. 5. St. Matt. xxviii. 3. St. Matt. xxviii. 5. St. Mark xvi. 6, 7. St. Matt. xxviii. 7.

By faith, brethren, come *ye* to the knowledge of the Lord's Resurrection; bring your sweet spices, to wit, holy[m] works; fill the holy Church with a sweet odour, that is to say with the fame of your sacred graces, according to that word of the Apostle's; *We are a sweet savour of Christ in every place.* The holy women find the angel, since they who, putting away from them the high things of this world, strive to please God alone, receive as their recompence a vision of angels, and [the

2 Cor. ii. 15.

sepulchre. But when they arrived at their destination, they found the guards overwhelmed with fear by the apparition of the Resurrection Angel, so that they had no need "to force their way through their ranks" (St. Matt. xxviii. 4); and as for "the multitude of the unbelieving Jews," the streets of the city through which they passed must have been well-nigh deserted "very early in the morning," "while it was yet dark." (See St. Luke xxiv. 1; St. John xx. 1; St. Mark xvi. 2; St. Matt. xxviii. 1.)

[m] "bring your sweet spices, to wit, holy works." So Gregory (quoted in the Catena of St. Thomas, Lib. of Fathers, ST. MARK, vol. ii. p. 334): "But if we believe on Him Who is dead, and are filled with the sweet smell of virtue, and seek the Lord with the fame of good works, we come to His sepulchre with spices." And so Bede (in Marc. Evang., cap. 16, tom. v. col. 208): "We, too, believing in Him Who is dead, if, filled with the odour of virtues, we seek the Lord, bringing with us the reputation of good works, then do we come to His sepulchre with sweet spices."

fol. 227, col. 2. merentur angelicum. qui repudiatis terrenis alitudinibus. soli deo placere contendunt. Sedebat angelus a dextris. suo designans situ. quod dominus de præsenti ad futuram. de mortali ad inmortalem. et de temporali ad vitam transierat eternam. Alba vestis significat mansuetudinem dominicæ incarnationis. et indulgentiam qua nostra peccata remittit nobis. iuxta illud evangelii. Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis. et honerati estis. et ego vos reficiam. Tollite iugum meum super vos et discite quia mitis sum. et humilis corde. et invenietis requiem animabus vestris. Iugum enim meum suave est? et onus meum leve. Porro fratres illa angeli fulgurea facie. die (*sic*) iudicii intelligite figurari. quando dominus apparebit in virtute et maiestate sua et omnes angeli cum eo. et consistent ante eum omnes gentes. et separabit eos sicut pastor segregat oves ab edis. et singulorum apparebunt conscientiæ. et inpenitentiam revelabunt flagitia. et dicet dominus reprobis. Ite maledicti in ignem æternum. qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius. Et subsequentia. Hic fratres facies domini apparebit fulgurea. et sermo horribilis. et celum dissolvetur. et elementa liquæfient (*sic*) ante faciem iudicantis. Qui iudicatus est ante pilatum. et ante principes sacerdotum. hisdem (*sic*) iudicabit pilatum et principes sacerdotum. et alios infideles quos invenerit absque sue crucis signo. Nolite inquit angelus timere vos. Quasi diceret.

[a] This, too, is from Gregory the Great (Lib. of Fathers, ST. MARK, vol. ii. pp. 336, 337): "What is meant by the left hand but this present life, and what by the right but everlasting life? Because then our Redeemer had already gone through the decay of this present life, fitly did the Angel, who had come to announce His everlasting life, sit on the

dignity of] converse with them. The angel was sitting at the right hand, signifying by the place where he sat, that the Lord had passed from the present[n] to the future, from the mortal to the immortal, and from the temporal to the eternal life. The white garment signifieth the meekness shewn forth in our Lord's Incarnation, and the graciousness wherewith He remits our sins, according to that word in the Gospel, *Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden; and I will refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, and learn; for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is sweet, and my burden is light.* St. Matt. xi. 28—30.

Furthermore, brethren, ye shall understand that by the countenance of the angel, which was like lightning, is figured the Day of Judgment, when the Lord shall appear in His power and majesty, and all the angels with Him, and when all nations shall stand before Him, *and He shall separate them as the shepherd separates the sheep from the goats*, and when the consciences of all men, one by one, shall be made manifest, and wicked deeds shall disclose the impenitence of their doers, and the Lord shall say to the reprobate, *Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels*, and so on. Here, brethren, shall appear the face of the Lord, which is like lightning, and His awful speech shall be heard, and the heavens shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt before the face of the Judge. He who was Himself judged before Pilate and the Chief Priests, this same Jesus shall judge Pilate and the Chief Priests, and the other unbelievers whom He shall find without the sign[o] of the cross. *Fear not ye*, said the angel. As

See St. Matt. xxv. 31—42.

St. Matt. xxv. 32.

St. Matt. xxv. 41.

See 2 Pet. iii. 10.

St. Matt. xxviii. 5.

right hand." And so Bede; "But we must observe why it is that the Angel is seen sitting on the right hand. What but the present life is signified by the left hand? What but life everlasting by the right? . . . . . Because our Redeemer therefore had now passed through the corruption of the present life, the angel who had come to announce His eternal life is appropriately seen sitting on the right." (Bede on St. Mark xvi., Opp., tom. v. col. 209.)

[o] "whom He shall find without the sign of the Cross," i.e. not "ad-

Illi timeant. qui in salvatorem mortuum. et resurgentem non credunt. Vos timere non debetis. qui vestre fidei vestrum concivem invenitis. Ite dicite discipulis eius et petro quia præcedet vos in galileam. Videte fratres nostri salvatoris exuberantem misericordiam. Permisit se negare petrum. ut petrus suam recognosceret negationem.

mitted into the fellowship of Christ's Religion." The origin of the sign of the Cross was, according to Wheatly, "the ancient usage by which masters and generals marked the foreheads or hands of their servants and soldiers with their names or marks, that it might be known to whom they did belong; and to this custom the Angel in the Revelation is thought to allude: 'Hurt not the earth, &c., till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads.' (Rev. vii. 3.) Thus, again, the retinue of the Lamb are said to 'have His Father's Name written in their foreheads.' (Chap. xiv. 1.) . . . . . Now, that the Christian Church might hold some analogy with those sacred applications, she conceived it a most significant ceremony in Baptism (which is our first admission into the Christian Profession) that all her children should be signed with a Cross on their foreheads, signifying thereby their consignment up to Christ; whence it is often called by the ancient Fathers, "the Lord's signet" and "Christ's seal." (Wheatly on the Common Prayer, chap. vii. sec. iii. § vii., pp. 349, 350.) For the branding of Roman soldiers upon enlistment, see Vegetius de Re Militari, lib. ii. c. 5, p. 28, with a learned note by Stewechius. The passage has led to the supposition that Vegetius was a Christian.

Bingham, speaking of the customs of the Primitive Church, tells us that "we are to distinguish at least four several times, when the sign of the Cross was used, during the preparation or consummation of the ceremonies of Baptism, 1. At the admission of catechumens to the state of catechumenship and the general name of Christians. 2. In the time of exorcism and imposition of hands, while they were passing through the several stages of catechumens. (The *competentes*, or catechumens in the most advanced stage, were exorcised and catechised, and received imposition of hands twenty days before Baptism.) 3. At the time of the unction before Baptism. (This was an unction different from that used at Confirmation; it covered the whole body, and was compared to the anointing of a wrestler before he entered the field.) 4. And lastly, at the unction of Confirmation, which was then usually the conclusion of Baptism, both in adult persons and infants. (Confirmation, on account of this sign of the Cross having been used in it, is often called by the Latin Fathers Consignation.)" (Bingham, bk. xi. ch. ix. sec. 4, vol. i. p. 530.)

Our own Church, while retaining the sign of the Cross in Baptism as "a lawful outward ceremony and honourable badge, whereby the" (baptised) "infant is dedicated to the service of Him that died upon the

if he should say; Let them fear, who believe not in the dead and rising Saviour. Ye ought not to fear, who find in me the fellow-citizen[p] of your faith. *Go ye, tell His Disciples and Peter, He goeth before you into Galilee.* St. Mark xvi. 7. Behold, brethren, the mercy of our Saviour which runneth over. He permitted Peter to deny Him, that Peter might remember his own denial, and might take away[q]

Cross," at the same time holds and teaches that "the sign of the Cross is no part of the substance of the Sacrament,—doth neither add anything to the virtue and perfection of Baptism, nor being omitted doth detract anything from the effect of it—nay, that the Infant baptized is by virtue of Baptism, before it be signed *with the sign of the Cross, received into the congregation of Christ's flock, as a perfect member thereof*, and not by any power ascribed unto the sign of the Cross." (See Canon XXX.)

The ceremony of Consignation, therefore, is (with us) not (as it is often erroneously termed) an admission into the Church, but a solemn and formal declaration of the Infant's having been by Baptism so admitted.

[p] "who find in me the fellow-citizen (*concivem*) of your faith." The word *concivis* is rare, and belongs to the later Latin. The corresponding word in Greek, *συμπολίτης*, is used by Æschylus. St. Paul employs it in that grand passage of the Ephesians which no doubt Herbert has in his thoughts here; "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens" (*συμπολῖται*) "with the saints, and of the household of God." It is however observable that the Vulgate translates simply *cives*, and does not represent the preposition;

GREEK OF ST. PAUL.	VULGATE.
Ἄρα οὖν οὐκέτι ἐστὲ ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι, ἀλλὰ συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Θεοῦ.	"Ergo jam non estis hospites et advenæ; sed estis *cives* sanctorum, et domestici Dei."

Tertullian, however, anticipates Herbert in rendering St. Paul's *συμπολίτης* by *concivis*. His translation of Eph. ii. 19 is,

"Jam non sumus peregrini, nec advenæ, sed *concives* sanctorum, sed domestici Dei." (Tert. adv. Marc., lib. v. vol. i. p. 609 in fine.)

[q] *et fidelium deportaret infirmitatem*—"and might take away the infirmity of the faithful." The reference must be to St. Luke xxii. 32.

GREEK.	VULGATE.	ENGLISH.
Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐδεήθην περὶ σοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐκλείπῃ ἡ πίστις σου· καὶ σύ ποτε ἐπιστρέψας, στήριξον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου.	"Ego autem rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos."	"But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."

The word *deporto* seems to be used in the Vulgate of mere material transportation; of bringing the first-fruits up to the Tabernacle (Num. xviii.

f. 227 b. et fidelium deportaret* infirmitatem. Humiliatus
est præferendus ceteris. ne prælatio arrogantiam.
et arrogantia procrearet indignationem. Tulit hoc
fieri salvator mira dispensatione. et lapsum re-
vocavit clementissima consolatione. Discrevit a
ceteris nomine. ne desperaret ex negatione. Ap-
paruit anxio. ut confirmaret in amorem. ‚Præcedet
vos in galileam. ibi eum videbitis sicut dixit vobis.
Galilea quippe. facta transmigratio interpretatur.
Migraturus erat dominus in cordibus apostolorum.
de forma ad forma. hoc est de forma servi ad for-
mam dei hoc est de carnali intellectu quem habe-
bant de homine. ad eum intellectum quem non
habebant de deo. Quod alibi equipollenter dicit.
Necesse est. inquit vobis ut ego vadam. Si enim
non abiero paraclitus non veniet ad vos. Quod
est dicere. Necessarium est. ut subtraham vobis
formam servi quam videtis. ut possitis introduci
ad agnitionem forme dei. quam necdum videtis.

13); of bringing up the Ark out of the house of Obed-edom (1 Chron. xv. 25); of bringing cedar-wood for the Temple from Tyre to Jerusalem (1 Chron. xxii. 4). In Herbert's use of the word, it has a moral sense; "that Peter, mindful of his *own* weakness, which had led him to deny Christ, might remove the weakness of his brethren."

The passage in St. Luke xxii. is one of those on which Romanists rest the prerogative of the Pope, as St. Peter's successor. Maldonatus finds an intimation that the words reach to all future time in the ποτε (= *aliquando*), as if it meant, "whenever a need of strengthening shall arise." And when is there not that need in the Church? "Therefore," argues this astute Commentator, "if Peter is to strengthen as often as there is need, Peter cannot be the individual, but the official Peter." See his Comment in loc., vol. iv. p. 145.

r "His lifting up above the others"—*prælatio.* The same word is used in the Sermon on the Ascension, of the Temptation of Christ on the Mountain; "Congressus cum Verbo Dei Sathanas suggessit cibi aviditatem, prælationis ambitionem," (that He should aspire to be set over the kingdoms of the world), "inutilium actuum gloriam."

* See Sermon ii. p. 56.

the infirmity of the faithful. He who is to be set over the rest is first humbled, lest his lifting[r] up above the others should breed haughtiness, and haughtiness should breed wrath. The Saviour by a marvellous dispensation suffered this to be done; and when Peter had fallen, recalled him with much forbearance and tender consolation. He singled him out from the rest by name, lest his denial should make him despair. He appeared to him in his sorrow, in order that he might confirm him unto love.

He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see Him, as He said unto you. For Galilee is by interpretation a removing[s] from place to place. The Lord was about to remove in the hearts of His Apostles from form to form, from the form of a servant, to the form of God; that is to say, from the carnal understanding which they had concerning the Man Christ Jesus, to that understanding of Him as God, which they had not as yet. As He saith elsewhere, in words of like force; *It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you.* Which is as much as to say, It is needful that I should withdraw from you the form of a servant which ye see, that ye may be brought to the discerning[t] of the form of God, which as yet ye see not.

St. Mark xvi. 7.

St. John xvi. 7.

[t] "It was necessary that the form of the servant should be removed from their eyes; for so long as they looked upon that, they thought that Christ was no more than what they saw Him to be. . . . The Holy Ghost the Comforter brought this, that the form of a servant, which the Lord had received in the womb of the Virgin, being removed from the fleshly eye, He was manifested to the purified mental vision in the very form of God in which He remained equal to the Father, even while He deigned to appear in the flesh." (Augustine, quoted in Lib. of Fathers, Catena Aurea, vol. iv. ST. JOHN, Part II. pp. 501, 502. And Bede and Gregory comment in a similar strain.)

It is interesting to compare the view taken of this important passage of Scripture by modern Divines. Here is a passage from Archdeacon Hare (Mission of the Comforter, vol. i. p. 20);

"The Master, whom they" (the disciples) "had lost, they found anew: but they found Him, not as a mere man, with the infirmities of the flesh, having no form or comeliness, to make men desire Him: they found Him as God, as the eternal only-begotten Son of God, sitting at the right hand of the Father, governing all things with the power of the Father, and at

Quod utrumque nisi fideliter tenueritis. spiritum sanctum accipere minime potestis. Ita et vos karissimi fratres laborate transmigrare de viciis ad virtutes. de periuriis et falsitatibus vestris ad veritatem. de rapinis ad elemosinam. de incontinentia et obscenitate ad castitatem. de iurgiis ad pacem. de ingurgitatione cibi vel potus ad sobrietatem. de odio ad caritatem. de infidelitate ad fidem. et postremo de sathana seductore hominum ad dominum ihesum nostrum salvatorem. Ac in galilea deo immolatur. et nostri salvatoris resurrectio fidelium mentibus facta cognoscitur. Quin-

the same time as their Saviour and Redeemer, and as the Redeemer of all mankind: they found Him, whom the Jews had crucified, made by God both Lord and Christ."

We add a passage from Professor Archer Butler (Sermons, First Series, Serm. xix. p. 263) which brings out very strikingly the probable imperfection of the homage rendered to Christ on earth, and the necessity of His removal in order to the perfectness of men's worship;

"We know that Christ, being God as well as man, deserved and received adoration during the days of His flesh. In all the instances of this unqualified adoration, however, it is not certain how far we can answer for the *absolute* purity of the motives of all the adorers. The action itself being materially justifiable, it is quite possible that He whose principle it was, not to 'quench the smoking flax,' not to reject the weakest beginnings of righteousness, may not always have required an enlightenment critically perfect from His worshippers, may not have hesitated to accept an act of pious submission which, nevertheless, was done in ignorance of the grounds of its own complete propriety. Doubtless they often adored the God, when little beyond the mighty but human prophet, or perhaps the incarnate angel occupied their minds; the half-instinctive worship of strong emotion, of hope, or surprise, or gratitude, rose to an Object loftier than itself had contemplated. Permissible at first, and for a while, this, however, could scarcely be perpetuated without danger; for men might worship a God in *a spirit* of idolatry, if they worshipped only the human element of His complex nature. Now this is just the result which the visible Presence of Christ must be apprehended to produce. Perpetually familiar with the Humanity, it is scarcely conceivable that men could fix a steady gaze upon the Deity it enshrined; assuredly such a power of abstraction is not within the habits of the *mass* of mankind; and yet it is only under this condition that Christ can be legitimately adored with the unbounded homage of the entire man."

Both which forms except ye steadfastly believe to be in me, ye can in no wise receive the Holy Ghost. In like manner do ye, dearly beloved brethren, labour to remove from unrighteousness to righteousness, from your pernicious and false ways to the truth, from oppressions and exactions to almsdeeds, from incontinency and filthiness to chastity, from quarrels to peace, from surfeiting and drunkenness to soberness, from hatred to love, from unbelief to faith, and finally from Satan the seducer of men to the Lord Jesus our Saviour. And in Galilee sacrifice [u] is offered to God, and the Resurrection of our Saviour, which had been accomplished, is discerned by the minds of the faithful.

[u] "And in Galilee sacrifice is offered to God, and the Resurrection of our Saviour, which had been accomplished, is discerned by the minds of the faithful." We do not know to what incident of Gospel History allusion is made in the first clause. When was sacrifice offered to God in Galilee? Is it possible that the divinely and miraculously provided supper of St. John xxi. can have been regarded as a sort of sacrificial act? Augustine (and Bede after him), commenting upon *Jesus then cometh, and taketh bread, and giveth them, and fish likewise,* says, "Mystically, the fried fish is Christ Who suffered. And He is the Bread that came down from heaven. To Him the Church is united, as His Body, for participation of eternal bliss," (quoted in Catena Aurea, Lib. of Fathers, vol. iv. ST. JOHN, Part II. p. 621). To partake of the fried fish, then (which represented the suffering Saviour), may possibly have been considered as an act of assisting at a sacrifice. This is the best conjecture we have to offer.

In the latter clause, "In Galilee the Resurrection of our Saviour, which had been accomplished, is *discerned by the minds* of the faithful," there is probably a reference to another meaning of the word Galilee, which both Augustine and Bede declare to signify "revelation" as well as "transmigration."

"Galilee is interpreted transmigration or revelation. . . . According to the second of these interpretations, Matt. xxviii. 10 is to be thus understood; '*Ye shall see Him* no longer in the form of a servant, but in that in which He is equal with the Father. That revelation will be the true Galilee, when *we shall be like Him, and shall see Him as He is.* That will be the blessed passing from this world to eternity.'" (Aug. de Consens. Ev. in Catena Aurea, Lib. of Fathers, vol. i. ST. MATTHEW, Part III. pp. 982, 983). The Hebrew root גָּלָה (gā-lāh), (from which Galilee was supposed erroneously to be derived), signifies, *It was laid bare.* Hence, to push aside the hair from the ear for the purpose of whispering a secret, TO REVEAL; and also to strip a land bare of its inhabitants, as is done by emigration or by carrying away captive, TO MIGRATE.

quies igitur dominus hodie apparuit. primo mariæ magdalenæ. secundo eidem marie magdalene. cum aliis duabus sanctis mulieribus. tercio duobus discipulis euntibus in emaus in fractione
f. 227 b, col. 2. panis. id est in operibus misericordie. Quarto simoni quando. et quomodo contigerit evangelica veritate non refertur. Refertur tamen quod contigerit. et quod fertur incredibile non est.

[x] Herbert probably intends to refer to St. John xx. 14, and St. Mark xvi. 9, for the first appearance; to St. Mark xvi. 9, and St. Matt. xxviii. 9, for the second appearance; to St. Luke xxiv. 15, and St. Mark xvi. 12, for the third appearance; to St. Luke xxiv. 34, and 1 Cor. xv. 5, for the fourth appearance; and to St. Luke xxiv. 36, and St. John xx. 19, for the fifth appearance.

Greswell recognises only four appearances on the first Easter Day, supposing that which is recorded in St. Matt. xxviii. 9, 10 (the occasion on which He met the two women and said, "Hail," and was held by the feet and worshipped) to have been subsequent to the interview with St. Thomas, and therefore a week at least after the first Easter Day. Of course this view is only tenable on the hypothesis that the words *ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ*, with which, according to our present copies, St. Matthew prefaces the interview, are spurious. And it is true the words do not appear either in the Sinaitic MS., or in the Vatican, or in the Codex Cantabrigiensis; *nor are they found in the Latin Vulgate Translation.* And *ὡς* is said by Dean Alford (in loc.) never to be used by St. Matthew of *time*, a circumstance which throws additional and very grave doubt on the clause.

It must be remembered, too, as an argument in favour of Greswell's view, that, in Dr. Da Costa's words, it is St. Matthew's manner to *accumulate homogeneous* discourses and facts. "It is just this *homogeneousness* which determines the order he follows in drawing up his narrative. The chronological succession of the different events, as they actually occurred, is not with him the main point in that narrative; his rule is to be sought in the manner in which things are bound together in their nature or in their signification." (Four Witnesses, p. 29.) He has been speaking in the earlier part of ch. xxviii. of women seeking our Lord's Sepulchre. He might very naturally add an appearance of the risen Saviour to a party of women, although it occurred at a lapse of several days after their visit to the tomb.

[y] "to whom He was made known in the breaking of bread, that is, in works of mercy." There is something simple and unconventional in this interpretation of Herbert's. Our Lord was full of works of mercy: His disciples had more than once seen Him "dealing bread to the hungry:" and therefore the act of breaking and distributing bread on this occasion recalled Him to their memory, and opened their eyes to Him with whom they had to do. It is observable that a mediæval divine should not see in the "breaking of bread" any allusion to the Eucharist. His favourite Augustine has no hesitation in affirming this meal at Emmaus to have been

Five times[x] then the Lord appeared to-day; first, to Mary Magdalene; secondly, to the same Mary Magdalene, with two other holy women; thirdly, to the two disciples going to Emmaus, to whom He was made known in the breaking of bread[y], that is, in works of mercy; fourthly, to Simon, (when and how this manifestation came to pass is not told in the Gospel verity, but it is told that it did come to pass, and what is told may well be believed); fifthly, to the Virgin and all[z]

the Eucharist*, and so several other Fathers. Romanists are so decided in this view of the subject, that they have even rested their practice of Communion in one kind on our Lord's vanishing after the distribution of the Bread. See "the Refutation of the Augsburg Confession" quoted by Stier (Words of Jesus, vol. viii. p. 131, note). "Certainly Christ, the Instituter of this most sacred Sacrament, when He rose from the dead, administered the Eucharist to the disciples at Emmaus *under one species only;* for He took the bread, brake, and gave it to them." See also an interesting note of Bishop Wordsworth's (Greek Test. in loc., St. Luke xxiv. 30) directed against this argument in favour of the Romish practice. Stier (and Dean Alford after him) think that the two disciples, not having been present at the institution of the Eucharist, could not have recognised Christ by any associations with the manner which He shewed on that occasion. The former thinks it possible that the act of breaking the bread exposed His hands, and the prints of the nails in them, and that thus the truth flashed upon them. But why seek a further explanation than that contained in the inspired narrative itself? In the earlier part of the day "their eyes were holden that they should not know Him." When He broke the bread, and gave it to them, "their eyes were opened, and they knew Him."

[z] "to the Virgin and all the disciples." There is no evidence at all that the Virgin was present at this manifestation. Rather the contrary. For the interview must be the same with that recorded by St. John (xx. 19—24), in which our Lord communicated to them the Holy Ghost with the power of remitting and retaining sins. Surely the Virgin could not have been made partaker of such a power. The only reasons for thinking that she may possibly have been present at the fifth and last Easter Day manifestation are, 1st. that St. Luke, in *his* account of it, does distinctly say (xxiv. 33) that there were "others with the eleven," and 2dly. that in the beginning of the Acts he gives us a glimpse of the Virgin associated with the eleven, and engaged in prayer with them (Acts i. 14).

* (Aug. de Cons. Ev., lib. iii. c. 25), "We take this obstacle in their sight to have been caused by Satan, in order that Jesus might not be known. But still it was so permitted by Christ up to *the Sacrament of the Bread, that by partaking of the unity of His Body*, the obstacle of the enemy might be understood to be removed, so that Christ might be known."

Maldonatus (in loc., vol. iv. p. 171) quotes Jerome's words that "Christ consecrated Cleopas's house into a Church," in evidence of Jerome's taking the same view. "The words can signify nothing else than that in that house He celebrated the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Wherever that Sacrament is celebrated, there is a Church."

Quinto virgini et omnibus discipulis in conclavi considentibus. quo clausis ingressus est ianuis. et dixit eis pax vobis. manifestans sui sermonis exordio iram dei. que per protoplastum peccatorem

[a] *Virgini et omnibus discipulis in conclavi considentibus*—"to the Virgin and all the disciples, sitting together in an upper room." By the word *conclave*, Herbert intends to represent the ὑπερῷον of Acts i. 13, in which the Apostles are said to have abided (ἦσαν καταμένοντες) between the Resurrection and the Pentecost. We have therefore rendered *conclave* "*upper room*," the words which our Authorized Version gives as the representative of ὑπερῷον.

Conclave, however, is not the word by which the Vulgate translates ὑπερῷον. On all four occasions of its use in the New Testament (here, Acts ix. 37, 39, of the upper chamber in which Dorcas was laid after death; and Acts xx. 8, of the upper chamber from the window of which Eutychus fell while St. Paul was preaching) *cœnaculum* (properly a *dining-room*, from *cœna*, and then an *upper room*, because dining-rooms were usually above stairs) is its representative in the Vulgate.

Conclave, according to its etymology (*clavis*), means any apartment or suite of apartments under lock and key, and may be used indifferently of bed-rooms or dining-rooms. Privacy seems to be the chief notion inherent in the derivation. The three instances in which the word is used in the Vulgate (of the chamber in which Amnon violated Tamar, 2 Sam. xiii. 10; of the bed-chamber in which Ishbosheth was assassinated by Rechab and Baanah, 2 Sam. iv. 7; and of the king of Syria's bed-chamber, the words spoken in which were supposed to be reported by Elisha to the king of Israel, 2 Kings vi. 12) all exhibit this fundamental idea. The chamber where the Pope's vestments were laid up—his wardrobe—seems to have gone by the name of *Conclave* among mediæval writers. And the use of the word to denote the place where the Cardinals meet for the election of a new Pope, is familiar to all. This conclave is usually in the Vatican, a large apartment there being partitioned off into as many deal cells as there are Cardinals, each cell being numbered, and having over it the arms of the Cardinal who has drawn that number. An oblong space is left between the cells and the windows of the building, forming a gallery where the Cardinals may confer. (See Hook's Church Dictionary, pp. 223, 224, Art. CONCLAVE.) Whether Herbert in the assembly of the Virgin and the Apostles wished to see the prototype or germ of the *Papal* conclave it is impossible to say.

Ὑπερῷον, the word by which St. Luke denotes the upper chamber in which the Apostles abode after the Resurrection, is properly an adjective formed from the preposition ὑπὲρ, and agreeing with the substantive οἴκημα understood. In the early times of Greece the hyperöon, or upper story, was the part of the house where the women resided for greater privacy. The New Testament instances of its occurrence have been already given. It is used by the Seventy Alexandrian translators of the summer parlour in which

the disciples, sitting together in an upper room[a], whereinto He came, the doors being shut, and said unto them, *Peace be unto you*, signifying by this opening of His speech, that the wrath of God, which through

See St. John xx. 19.

Ehud assassinated Eglon, Judges iii. 20, 23, 24; of the chamber over the gate in which David mourned for Absalom, 2 Sam. xviii. 33; of the loft in the widow of Zarephath's house, where Elijah raised her son to life, 1 Kings xvii. 19; of the upper chamber through the lattice of which Ahaziah fell, 2 Kings i. 2; of the little chamber which the Shunammite made for Elisha on the wall, 2 Kings iv. 10; and OF THE UPPER CHAMBER OF THE TEMPLE, overlaid with gold, 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 2 Chron. iii. 9. It is in this last upper chamber—that of the Temple—that Krebsius thinks the Apostles assembled after the Resurrection.

The words are (Acts i. 13);

Καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθον, ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῷον, οὗ ἦσαν καταμένοντες ὅ,τε Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος.

"And when they were come in, they went up into an (*lit.* the) upper room, where abode both Peter, and James," &c.

As to the first clause, he argues that the "coming in," without any mention of the place into which they came, can have no other signification than that of entering into Jerusalem, from whence they had sallied forth to Olivet, and that *the* upper chamber cannot mean the upper story of a private house. He shews from Josephus, 1st. that Solomon's temple had an upper story, not surrounded with small chambers as the basement story was, the ascent to which was by steps in the thickness of the wall (Ant. viii. 3, 2); 2dly. that this upper story was used for assemblies, and was exposed to the sky, Ezra having, *according to Josephus*, assembled the people there about the matter of the strange wives, though the *book* of Ezra calls the place of meeting on that occasion "the *street* of the house of God" (Ez. x. 9), (Ant. xi. 5, 4); and 3dly. that the last Temple was constructed on a similar plan, having an upper story not built round with chambers. (*Wars*, v. 5, 5.) He clenches his argument by observing that St. Luke tells us in the closing words of his Gospel that after the Ascension, the Apostles "returned to Jerusalem with great joy; and were continually in the Temple, praising and blessing God." (St. Luke xxiv. 52, 53.) When, therefore, in his other account of the Ascension, he tells us that "when the Apostles had come in" (to the Holy City), "they went up into *the* upper room," what can the upper room be but the upper story of the Temple. (See Krebs. Observationes in Nov. Test., pp. 162—164.) Dean Alford utterly repudiates the view of Krebsius. There is of course this to be said against it, that the Apostles and early disciples would have courted privacy in their place of assembling. Thus we find "the doors shut for fear of the Jews" (St. John xx. 19). On the whole it is safer to suppose that the ὑπερῷον was the large upper story of a private house, belonging to some one favourable to the Christians,—perhaps the ἀνώγεον μέγα ἐστρωμένον ("large upper room furnished") of St. Mark xiv. 15, where our Lord instituted the Eucharist.

in omnes homines transierat unius iusti immolatione esse pacatam. Quomodo enim per unum peccatum. et per peccatum mors intravit in mundum. ita et per. unum hominem iusticia et per iusticiam vita reddita est hominibus. Surrexit itaque dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependerat in ligno. Surrexit de morte. qui mortem nulla promeruerat iniquitate. Defectus enim anime a deo peccatum. et defectus corporis ab anima mors. Mors inquam anime prima et mors corporis secunda. Quam salvator nullatenus meruit? qui nullo prime mortis contagio pollutus fuit. Mortuus est igitur ex voluntate. resurrexit ex potestate suam complevit miliciam. gloriosam adeptus est victoriam. Egit triumphum de diabolo. et Christiane fidei exsequutores patri reconciliavit suo. Mors christi simpla. et resurrectio christi simpla. set mors nostra dupla et surrectio nostra dupla. In christo deus et anima. et corpus.

[b] Herbert's language is perfectly justifiable. Spiritual death (or the falling away of the soul from God) preceded natural death (or the falling away of the body from the soul), as it is said, "Death entered into the world by sin" (Rom. v. 12). St. John in the Revelation is contrasting only natural with eternal death; and of course in this point of view, the natural is the first, and the eternal (called "the lake of fire," Rev. xx. 14, and "the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone," Rev. xxi. 8) the second death. Probably these passages did not occur to Herbert, or he might have avoided a phraseology which had even the appearance of coming into collision with them.

[c] *Christianæ fidei exsequutores*—"the persecutors of the Christian faith." This sense of the word "exequutor" is rare, if not unexampled. According to its etymology, "exsecutor" is "one who follows up." Hence, 1. simply, one who follows up a purpose, by accomplishing it; 2. one who follows up an injury by revenge—an avenger; 3. one who follows up a legal offence to legal reparation—a prosecutor; 4. one who follows up a legal claim on the purse—a tax-collector. In the Vulgate the word is not found at all. Its cognate, *exsecutio*, which occurs once, 2 Macc. ii. 32, there signifies the following out at length of a subject of discussion. In

the sinner that was first formed had passed upon all men, was now pacified by the Sacrifice of the one righteous Man. For *as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin,* so also by one Man righteousness, and by righteousness, life was restored to men. And so the Lord, Who for us had hung upon the tree, arose from the sepulchre. He who had not deserved death by any iniquity arose from the dead. For the falling away of the soul from God is sin, and the falling away of the body from the soul is death. The death of the soul is, I say, the first, and the death of the body the second[b] death, which the Saviour in no wise deserved, Who was not polluted with the leprosy of the first death. He died therefore of His own accord; He arose again of His own power; He finished His warfare; He got Himself a glorious victory; He triumphed over the devil, and reconciled to the Father the persecutors[c] of the Christian faith. The Death of Christ was single, and the Resurrection of Christ was single; but our death is twofold, and our resurrection twofold. In Christ was the Godhead, and soul, and body, three[d] natures; but out of these three natures was compounded

Rom. v. 12.

the lower Latin (as may be seen from *Ducange*) *exsecutor* means one who carries into effect the sentence of a judge—a priest who executes the daily Office—the executor of a will—and an exactor, or exacting debtor. It is perhaps with the first of these significations (executioner) that the sense of *persecutor* connects itself. Saul of Tarsus, before his conversion, acted as a kind of executioner to the Christians; "As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison." He doubtless was the chief of those whom Herbert had in his eye, when he says that Christ "reconciled to His Father the persecutors of the Christian faith."

[d] "In Christ was the Godhead, and soul, and body—three natures." This is another instance of Herbert's unconventional mode of writing. He does not seem hampered by the definitions of Theology, or careful to make his phraseology agree with them. For the doctrine of the Church has ever been that in Christ are "*two* whole and perfect *natures*, the Godhead and Manhood, joined together in one Person." It is evident that Herbert here uses the word *nature* in a different sense,—just as we do when we say that mind is a thing of an essentially different nature from body. Yet see the next note.

tres naturæ. set ex tribus naturis. sine confusione et sine translatione una persona.[e] In christo deus

[e] "Out of these three natures was composed one only Person, without confusion or transferring of the things proper to the three." There is here probably a reference to the definition of the Athanasian Creed on the subject of the Incarnation; *Unus omnino, non confusione substantiæ, sed unitate personæ*, "One altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person;" words which, as Waterland shews, had been previously used by St. Augustine in expounding this mystery (Hist. of the Ath. Creed, pp. 156, 157). The Article was directed against the Apollinarians and Eutychians, who, to use Hooker's forcible words, "pared away from the Humanity of Christ." Apollinaris "maintained that the body which Christ assumed, was endowed with a sensitive, but not a rational, soul; and that the Divine Nature performed the functions of reason, and supplied the place of what we call the mind, the spiritual and intellectual principle in man. And from this it seemed to follow, as a natural consequence, that the Divine Nature in Christ was blended with the human, and suffered with it the pains of crucifixion and death itself." (Mosheim, Eccl. Hist., vol. i. p. 423.)

Of the Eutychian doctrine, Hooker says (Eccl. Pol., bk. v. ch. lii. [4], vol. ii. p. 289), "As Nestorius, teaching rightly that God and man are distinct natures, did thereupon misinfer that in Christ those natures can by no conjunction make one Person; so Eutyches, of sound belief as touching their true personal copulation, became unsound by denying the difference which still continueth between the one and the other nature. We must therefore keep warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of persons wherein Nestorius went awry, and also this later confusion of natures which deceived Eutyches."

The illustration suggested by the Creed (which also is drawn from the words of St. Augustine, see Waterland, p. 156), "For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ," is exceedingly helpful to the right comprehension of the mystery. No one doubts that it is one and the same man who at one moment hungers, at another prays, at another solves a mathematical problem. Yet these three different processes are in virtue of three different faculties, the properties of which it would be absurd to confuse or transfer. It is the animal nature that hungers, the spiritual nature which prays, the intellectual nature which solves the problem. We may say with great propriety that *the man* performs any or all of these functions; but it were absurd to say that the intellect hungered, or that the body prayed, or that the spiritual nature solved the problem. Just so with the Deity, and with the twofold element of the Humanity of Christ. Christ (who is God) shed His blood, and was stirred with compassion, and claimed a priority of existence to Abraham. But the first He did in virtue of having a human body, the second in virtue of having a human soul, while His priority of existence to all the creatures is in virtue of His Godhead. It was not the Divine Nature which bled, nor

one only Person, without confusion or transferring of the things proper to the three. In Christ there was

the human soul which existed before Abraham, nor the human body which was stirred with compassion.

Hooker sums up thus the Catholic Truth on the person of Christ, as meeting the four heresies of Arius, Apollinaris, Nestorius, and Eutyches;

"In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly;* the first applied to His being God, and the second to His being Man, the third to His being of both One, and the fourth to His still continuing in that one Both: we may fully by way of abridgement comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled, either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the foresaid heresies." (Bk. v. ch. liv. [10], vol. ii. p. 304.)

And again, in a summary almost equally brief;

"Let us therefore set it down for a rule or principle so necessary as nothing more to the plain deciding of all doubts and questions about the union of natures in Christ, that of both natures there is a *co-operation* often, an *association* always, but NEVER any mutual *participation*, whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other." (Bk. v. ch. liii. [3], vol. ii. pp. 293, 294.)

If it be asked what is the use of all these subtle distinctions, when the old heresies, against which they were directed, are extinct, it must be answered that correct conceptions (so far as the human mind is able to form them) of the Person and Nature of Christ are as desirable (on every ground) as they are uncommon. Too many regard Him as a demigod,—one in whom there is a fusion of the properties of the Divine and Human Natures—half God and half man, thus derogating at the same time both from His sympathy and His almightiness to save. While the notion that there was nothing human about Him, except His body, which acted as a sort of shrine for His Divinity, is far from being exploded, though it may not be explicitly avowed or maintained. Some excellent remarks on this point are to be found in the memoir of the late Mme. Schimmelpenninck.

As regards the time at which the Athanasian Creed was received in this country, Waterland fixes it about A.D. 800.

"As to our own country," he says (Hist. of Ath. Creed, pp. 100, 101), "We have clear and positive proof of the Creed's having been sung alternately in our Churches in the tenth century, when Abbo, of Fleury, an ear-witness of it, was here; and when the Saxon versions of it, still extant, were of standing use for the instruction and benefit both of clergy and people. . . . . But it may be worth the observing farther, that among several other ancient professions of faith drawn up by our Bishops of the Saxon times, there is one of Denebert, Bishop of Worcester, presented to Archbishop Athelard in the year 799, which contains in it a considerable part of the Athanasian Creed: from whence may be concluded that this formulary was well known here, and well approved, among the learned at least, in those times."

Waterland's conclusions as to the date and authorship of the Athanasian Creed are that it was composed in Gaul, between the years A.D. 426 and

erat. et anima sine peccato erat. solum vero corpus mortale erat. noncessitate (*sic*) peccati. set voluntate miserantis dei. qui sua simpla morte. nostram destruebat duplam. et sua resurrectione simpla.
f. 228. nostram duplam operabatur resurrectionem. Consurgamus igitur resurgenti salvatori. et anima. et corpore innovati novum induamus hominem. qui secundum Deum creatus est in iusticia et sanctitate veritatis. Exuamus veterem cum actibus suis qui corrumpitur cotidie. et sordet originalibus et actualibus culpis. nullam habens speculationem in novitate consistendi.[f] Unde clamat apostolus. Christi resurrectione (*sic*) renovatis.[g] Expurgate vetus fermentum. ut sitis nova conspersio[h] sicut estis azimi. et enim pascha nostrum immolatus est christus. Et alibi. si consurrexistis cum christo quæ sursum sunt querite ubi christus est in dextra dei sedens. quæ sursum sunt sapite? non quæ super terram. Mortui enim estis et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo. Pascha fratres. transitus interpretatur. quoniam hodierna die

430, by Hilary, Bishop of Arles, a great admirer of St. Augustine's. Its title "Athanasian" he supposes to be equivalent to "Orthodox," "it being obvious, when the Arian controversy was revived in Gaul, under the influence of the Burgundian kings, to call one side Athanasians, and the other Arians." (Hist. of Ath. Creed, pp. 137, 138, 143.)

* Herbert therefore might well have been acquainted with this Creed.

[f] "nor has any thought of walking in newness of life." We do not pretend that this is a *translation* of "nullam habens speculationem in novitate consistendi;" nor, in short, do we know how it is to be translated. Perhaps there is some error in the MS.

[g] Before the words "Purge out therefore," the MS. inserts "Christi resurrectione renovatis," of which we can make nothing. The word *resurrectione* has been resurrectione*m*, but the *m* is erased. We suspect some error of the scribe in this part of the MS.

[h] The word *conspersio* is only once to be found in the Vulgate, 1 Cor. v. 7. The derivation is from *conspergo*. Flour being sprinkled with water

the Godhead, and there was also a soul without sin. His body only was mortal, as sin of necessity required, and as the will of a pitiful God determined it to be, who by Christ's single death destroyed our double death, and by Christ's single resurrection wrought out our double resurrection. Let us rise, therefore, with the rising Saviour; and, renewed in body and mind, *let us put on the new man, who after God is created in righteousness and true holiness. Let us put off the old man with his deeds, who corrupteth himself daily, and is defiled with original and actual sins,* nor has any thought[f] of walking in newness of life. Whence the Apostle cries out; Ye renew the resurrection[g] of Christ; *Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened; for Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us.* And elsewhere; *If ye then be risen with Christ, seek the things that are above; where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God: Mind the things that are above, not the things that are upon the earth. For ye are dead; and your life is hid with Christ in God.*

Eph. iv. 24. Col. iii. 9, with Eph. iv. 22. 1 Cor. v. 7. Col. iii. 1, 2, 3.

The Passover, brethren, is by interpretation[i], passing

becomes dough, but *conspersio* is dough before the process of fermentation. "Conspersio, farina per aquam conglutinata, sine fermento." (Lat. Gr. Cathol.) Paschasius Radbertus thus applies the word to the "Panis Eucharisticus." "Hæc igitur conspersio de multis granis fecit unum corpus, corpus inquam sinceritatis et veritatis: si tamen sumus azymi, id est, absque fermento malitiæ et nequitiæ, ut digne panem de aqua conspersum accipere possimus."

[i] "The Passover is, by interpretation, passing over." פֶּסַח (pe-sakh), the Paschal Lamb, the day of the Passover (14th Nisan), from פָּסוֹחַ (pā-sōkh), to pass over.

The derivation of the word is given in Exod. xii. 13, 23, 27. We give verse 23 in the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Authorised Version.

SEPTUAGINT.	VULGATE.	AUTHORISED.
Καὶ παρελεύσεται Κύριος πατάξαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, καὶ ὄψεται τὸ αἷμα ἐπὶ τῆς φλιᾶς, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν σταθμῶν· καὶ παρελεύσεται	"*Transibit* enim Dominus percutiens Ægyptios; cumque viderit sanguinem in superliminari, et in utroque poste, *transcendet* os-	"For the Lord will *pass through* to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel, and on the two side-

dominus de corruptione ad incorruptionem. et de morte transivit ad vitam. Ita et nos fratres. participes mortis simus et participes dominice resurrectionis. Veteris abstineamus fermento peccati. et nove vite epulemur conspersione. Tales enim convivas convocat dominus. eisque sui corporis et sanguinis largitur sacramenta. quos aut baptismus lavat. aut penitentia et confessio reformant. Fratres cibandi sumus corpore domini. suoque cruore potandi. Diligenter attendamus que apponuntur nobis. certissime scientes quoniam et consimilia oportet nos preparare. Panis est quem videtis. panis quidem materialis. Verum cum

Κύριος τὴν θύραν, καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσει τὸν ὀλοθρεύοντα εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ὑμῶν πατάξαι.	tium domus, et non sinet percussorem ingredi domos vestras et lædere."	posts, the Lord will *pass over* the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come in unto your houses to smite you."

It should be added that in the two other places (Exod. xii. 13, 27) the Septuagint instead of *παρελεύσεται* (He shall pass by) has *σκεπάσω, ἐσκέπασε*, "I will shelter," "he sheltered." The question is how the notion of *shelter* or *protection* is deduced from that of *passing over* or *passing by*. The late Mr. Woodward of Fethard has given the answer in a most interesting paper, which is to be found in his "Sermons and Essays." We are sorry that the book is not at hand to refer to. He shews that the word פָּסוֹחַ (pā-sōkh) represents the action of a lame man, who constantly throws himself forward on the sound foot. Thus it is used of Mephibosheth's lameness ("he became lame," 2 Sam. iv. 4); of the frantic dance of the priests of Baal ("they leaped upon the altar that was made," 1 Kings xviii. 26); and (in a moral sense) of *halting* between two opinions, 1 Kings xviii. 21. He also refers to Isaiah xxxi. 5, where the word occurs; "As *birds flying*, so will the LORD of Hosts defend Jerusalem; defending also He will deliver it; and passing over" (פָּסוֹחַ, *Sept. περιποιήσεται, Vulgate, transiens*) "He will preserve it," and shews that the word here denotes the action of a hen, throwing herself with a sudden spring before her brood to shelter them from an attack. The "passing over" then was not to be the act of the destroying angel, but of Jehovah the Shelterer or Preserver. The angel was about to enter the houses of the Israelites, like all other houses,—but Jehovah (like a hen gathering her chickens under her wings, see St. Matt. xxiii. 37) sprang forward, at the sight of the blood, and obstructed him. How far this interesting criticism is tenable will depend

over, inasmuch as to-day the Lord passed over from corruption to incorruption, and from death to life. So let us also, brethren, become partakers of the Lord's death and of His resurrection. Let us abstain from the leaven of old sin, and let us feast upon the lump of a new life. For such guests the Lord calleth together, and imparteth to them the Sacraments of His body and His blood, as are either washed in the laver of Baptism, or renewed by penitence and confession. Brethren, we are to be fed with the body of our Lord; and to be made to drink of His blood. Let us give diligent heed to the things which are set before us[k], knowing of a surety how it behoves us to prepare the like things. It is bread which ye see before you, substantial[l] bread

much on the extent of its author's knowledge of Hebrew. His essay however is well worth consulting, as indeed is everything else which sprung from his original, powerful, and candid mind.

[k] See the very same admonition in almost the same words in Sermon I., pp. 2 and 3.

Here the "things which are set before us" are evidently the elements of the Holy Communion, and "the like things which it behoves us to prepare," are the suitable dispositions for receiving those holy Mysteries. And the words may possibly bear the same meaning in the former place.

[l] *panis quidem materialis*—"substantial bread of a truth." The argument which follows is of the highest importance in connexion with the controversies of Herbert's time. He was born, we know, in the middle of the eleventh century, and founded the see of Norwich and built his Cathedral at the close of it. It was about the time of his birth that the celebrated Berengarius of Tours, Archdeacon of Angers, formally opposed the doctrine which had gradually obtained considerable currency, that the natural substance of the Eucharistic elements was annihilated by and in virtue of the consecration. It is true indeed that as early as the ninth century, controversy had arisen on the subject of the Eucharist, Paschasius Radbert (in 831) having affirmed in the strongest language that the body of Christ present in the Eucharist is "the same body which was born of the Virgin, which suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead." That the language in which Paschasius expressed his views was coarse and carnal, may be judged from one of the corollaries which he himself deduced from his doctrine—that the Eucharist is not liable to the consequences of digestion. Charles the Bald, to whom Paschasius presented his treatise, commissioned Ratramn and Johannes Scotus (Erigena) to investigate and report on the doctrine contained in it. They did so; and Ratramnus met the doctrine of Paschasius (as to the identity of the body given in the Eucharist with that which hung on the cross) by a direct negative. Two

consecrantis officio sacerdotis venitur ad verba Christi panis iste efficitur caro Christi. ea vera-

great authorities, Dean Milman and Dean Waddington, assert, and not without some ground in Paschasius's writings, that he put forth also the very doctrine opposed by Berengarius, that after the consecration nothing remains of the elements of bread and wine. But Archdeacon Freeman explains away the passage, which leads them to ascribe this doctrine to Paschasius, and insists that the positions taken up by him and Ratramn respectively were not really inconsistent, though conceived by them to be so—that Paschasius meant to assert no more than that the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper, and Ratramn no more than that there is a difference between the *manner* of the Presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist and that of Its Presence on earth in the days of His flesh. Mr. Freeman maintains that the real virus of the Roman error on this subject is to be found exclusively in the *negative* position against which Berengarius argued, that there is no longer real bread and wine in the Eucharist after consecration, but only the appearances thereof. During the tenth century the question slumbered, as regards any public discussion of it, though doubtless opinion was silently forming itself. But in the middle of the eleventh century (1045) Berengarius, stimulated, as some say, by jealousy of the great Lanfranc, avowed his conviction that the substance of the bread and wine survived consecration. The question aroused great attention. It was discussed in nine councils (from 1050 to 1095, the year preceding Herbert's foundation of Norwich Cathedral), and almost uniformly settled against the view of Berengarius. He shewed, according to Dean Waddington, a very mean spirit on the subject, always retracting his views when called to account for them, and retracting his retractation when he felt himself out of harm's way. He died in 1088.

The Romish doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist was finally stereotyped, and stamped with the name of Transubstantiation, by Innocent III. at the fourth Lateran Council in 1215,—nearly a century after the death of our Herbert. Virtually the question had been determined at the minor councils mentioned beforehand; but now it was confirmed and formally accepted. (See, for the substance of the foregoing note, Waddington's Church History, chap. xv. sec. i. vol. ii. pp. 33—36; and chap. xvi. sec. iii. vol. ii. pp. 91—96; and chap. xviii. sec. iii. vol. ii. p. 173: Freeman's Principles of Divine Service, Introduction to Part ii. sect. v. pp. 35—49.)

It will be observed that nowhere in this argument of Herbert's in favour of the received view does he assert that *after consecration there is no more any real bread and wine in the Eucharist, but only the appearance thereof.* And this (as far as we can understand him) is *the* point of the Roman doctrine which the Archdeacon of Exeter (following the steps of the late Archdeacon of Angers) thinks unscriptural and untenable. The Canon of the Council of Trent which touches this point is (Session xiii. Canon ii. p. 119);

"If any one shall say that in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist

of a truth; but when in the office of the consecrating priest we come[m] to the words of Christ, that bread is

there remaineth the substance of bread and wine together with the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and shall deny that marvellous and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into His Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into His Blood, while only the appearances of bread and wine remain, which conversion the Catholic Church most fitly denominates Transubstantiation;—let him be accursed."

The term *material* (*panis quidem materialis*) as applied to the bread before consecration, Herbert may have borrowed from Abp. Lanfranc, in whose treatise against Berengarius on the subject of the Eucharist we read; "For as that *material* bread, discreetly taken, nourishes and sustains the human body, so the spiritual and invisible Body of Christ feeds and makes to thrive the soul of the worthy recipient." The words remind one of the answer in our Catechism, that the benefit of which we are partakers by the Lord's Supper is the "strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the Body and Blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine." It is clear, however, that by material or substantial bread Lanfranc meant the bread *before, and independently of*, consecration; for in the immediately foregoing context he argues that as the angels which appeared to Abraham are called men, because they looked like men, and as man is called dust and ashes, because he was made of the dust, so the Body of Christ in the Eucharist is called bread, because it has the appearance of bread, and because it is made out of bread. (Lanfranc, Opp., vol. ii. pp. 191, 192.)

It will be observed, as throwing light upon the meaning of *materialis*, that Lanfranc opposes to it *spiritualis* et *invisibilis*.

[m] Herbert's position here is that the consecration is not duly accomplished until the words of Institution have been recited over the elements. But his form of expression does not deny that Prayer as well as the words of Institution is essential to the consecration. This last was the view taken by antiquity.

(See Bingham, book xv. chap. iii. sec. xi. vol. ii. p. 773.)

"Consecration anciently was not a bare repetition of those words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is My Body, which for many ages has been the current doctrine of the Romish schools; but a repetition of the history of the institution, together with prayers to God, that He would send His Holy Spirit upon the gifts, and make them become the Body and Blood of Christ; not by altering their nature and substance, but their qualities and powers, and exalting them from simple elements of bread and wine to become types and symbols of Christ's flesh and blood, and efficacious instruments of conveying to worthy receivers all the benefits of His death and passion." That Prayer was essential, no less than the words of Institution, he proves by citing "a mighty cloud of witnesses" from "all antiquity;" and then addresses himself to answer a Romish objection, founded on certain words of Chrysostom, "who in one of his homilies speaks of the consecration after this manner: It is not man that makes the elements become the Body and Blood of Christ, but Christ Himself that was crucified

f. 228, col. 2. citer que de virgine processit. et in cruce pependit.

for us. The priest stands fulfilling his office, and speaking those words; but the power and grace is of God. Christ said, 'This is My Body:' this word consecrates the elements. And as that word which said, 'Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth,' was spoken but once, yet at all times is effectual in deed to strengthen our nature to beget children; so this word once spoken, from that time to this day, and until His coming again, perfects and consummates the sacrifice on every table throughout the Churches.—The meaning of which is not, as the Romanists mistake, that the pronouncing of these words by the priest is the thing that makes the sacrifice; but that Christ, by first speaking those words, gave power unto men to make His symbolical Body; as by once speaking those words, 'Increase and multiply,' He gave them power to procreate children. Christ's words are the original cause of the consecration; but still *prayer, and not the bare repetition of His words, is the instrumental cause and means of the sanctification.* As Chrysostom himself says plainly in another place, where he attributes the consecration of the elements to the invocation of the Spirit, and the Spirit's descent pursuant to such invocation. What meanest thou, O man? says he. When the priest stands by the holy table, lifting up his hands to heaven, and invocating the Holy Spirit to come down and touch the elements, there should then be great tranquillity and silence. When the Spirit grants His grace, when He comes down, when He touches the elements, when thou seest the Lamb slain and offered, dost thou then raise a tumult and commotion, and give way to strife and railing?—In which words, it is plain, Chrysostom attributes the consecration to the power of Christ and the Holy Spirit, as the principal and efficient cause; to prayer and supplication, as the instrumental cause, operating by way of condition and means, to sanctify the elements according to Christ's command, by a solemn benediction; and to the words, 'This is My Body,' and 'This is My Blood,' as spoken by Christ in the first institution, implying a declaration of what was then done, and what should be done by His power and concurrence to the end of the world." (vol. ii. p. 775.)

There are two points in the doctrine of consecration, as thus laid down, which require explanation, in order to bring them into harmony with the Communion Office of our own Book of Common Prayer.

1st. In our Prayer of Consecration we do not pray *explicitly* for the descent of the Holy Spirit on the elements, as they did in primitive days. See Palmer's answer to this objection against our Office (Orig. Liturg., vol. ii. chap. iv. sec. 19, pp. 137—140) where he shews 1st: that the invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements, though found in all the Oriental Liturgies, was not used by the Italian Churches; and 2dly, that we *do* pray *implicitly* for the descent of the Holy Ghost and the consecration of the elements thereby. For we pray that "we receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood." This we cannot be, without an effective consecration of the elements. Therefore we virtually

made the flesh of Christ, that very flesh which proceeded from the Virgin, and hung upon[n] the cross, and

pray for such an effective consecration, without however mentioning expressly the means by which it is to be accomplished (i.e. the descent of the Holy Spirit). We leave this means to God; but in praying for the end we do virtually pray for the means.

But 2dly. Can the Church of England hold that Prayer as well as the words of Institution is essential to consecration, when in her rubrical direction for the emergency of the bread and wine being spent before all have communicated, she bids the priest consecrate more by the mere recital of the words of Institution. The answer to this is given by Archdeacon Yardley in a good extract, which will be found in Hook's Church Dictionary (ART. *Consecration of the Elements*, p. 247), "But" (in this case) "the virtue of the prayer, which the Church hath already made, is to be understood as concurring therewith" (with the words of Institution); "and this is only a particular application to these particular elements. Hence comes the propriety of saying 'Amen' at the end of those words" (in a second consecration); "which would not be so properly added, unless it referred back to the preceding petitions. And that this is the sense of the Church of England is further plain, in that she in her rubric calls this 'the *prayer* of consecration,' in which the words of Institution are contained; and it is addressed to Almighty God, &c., whereas the words of Christ were not supplicatory to God, but declaratory to His disciples."

But we must be fair even to controversial antagonists. And therefore we feel bound to say that there are two passages of St. Ambrose (though both occurring in disputed treatises *) which seem in favour of the Romish view, that the consecration is effected by the mere recital of the words of Christ. We translate one of them (De Sacramentis, liber iv. cap. iv. sec. 14, tom. ii. col. 368, C, D), "How can that which is bread [become] the Body of Christ? By consecration. But by what words and by whose utterances is consecration [made]? By those of the Lord Jesus. For all the other things which are said previously are said by the priest; praises are rendered unto God; prayers are asked for the people, for kings and others; but when we arrive at the making of the venerable Sacrament" (ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile Sacramentum), "now the priest employs no longer his own utterances, but employs the utterances of Christ. It is the utterance of Christ then which maketh this Sacrament." To the same purpose is (De Mysteriis, cap. ix. sec. 52, tom. ii. col. 339, B). Neither of these passages does Bingham notice. But these are neutralised by a passage from an unquestioned work of St. Ambrose (De Fide), to which Bingham gives a reference that we cannot identify, lib. iv. ch. 5.

"As often as we receive the Sacraments, which are transfigured into [His] flesh and blood *by the mystery of holy prayer*, we do shew forth the Lord's death."

[n] "That very flesh which proceeded from the Virgin," &c. These

* Bullinger says of both these treatises (De Mysteriis and De Sacramentis) that they are written, not by Ambrose, but by his ape!

et in sepulcro iacuit. et de sepulchro resurrexit et non fantastice. set substantialiter discipulorum ocu-

are the *ipsissima verba* of one of the positions maintained by Paschasius. He maintained, says Dean Waddington (Church History, chap. xv. sec. 1, vol. ii. p. 34) that "the Body of Christ, really and locally present in the Eucharist, is the same Body which was born of the Virgin, which suffered upon the cross, and which was raised from the dead."

The words passed into a kind of test of orthodoxy; for Berengar, in the profession of faith which he made at the synod of Rome (1078), adopts them as his own; "I confess that the bread of the altar after consecration is the very Body of Christ which was born of the Virgin, which suffered on the cross, which sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and that the wine of the altar after it is consecrated, is the very Blood which flowed from the side of Christ." (Hagenbach's Hist. of Doctrines, 3rd Period, sec. vi. vol. ii. p. 95.)

Are such statements compatible with the doctrine of the Church of England? We think that they are. Bp. Harold Browne tells us (Articles, xxviii. sec. i. p. 680) that "Protestants, of many different communions, have freely declared, that Christ's *Body and Blood are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.* Nay, it is acknowledged by them, that the Body of Christ then received is the very Body, that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified, dead, and buried. For there is no other Body, no other Blood of Christ. Christ's Body is now glorified, but still it is the same Body, though in its glorified condition. It is not even denied that we receive that Body really, substantially, corporally: for although the word '*corporally*' seem opposed to 'spiritually,' yet it is not so of necessity." (That St. Paul speaks of σῶμα πνευματικὸν, "a spiritual body," would seem to prove the learned commentator's position.) "And, as we acknowledge that it is a Body which we receive, so we cannot deny its Presence corporally, i.e. after the manner of a Body. Only, when we come to explain ourselves, we say that, though it be Christ's very Body we receive in the Eucharist, and though we cannot deny even the word *corporal* concerning it; yet as Christ's Body is now a spiritual Body, so we expect a spiritual presence of that Body; and we do not believe that we *naturally* and *carnally* eat that, which is now no longer carnal and natural; but that we spiritually receive Christ's spiritual Body into our souls, and spiritually drink His life-giving Blood with the lips of our spirit."

Surely this view of the subject, while we by no means assert it to be obligatory upon members of the Church of England, satisfies very fully all the conditions which a devout and reverend mind, free from the trammels of superstition, desiderates in a theory of Eucharistic doctrine. Those conditions are that in the sacred words of Institution, "This is My Body," neither term of the mystery shall be explained away, that the bread shall be understood to remain "verily and indeed" bread after consecration, and yet that the bread shall be recognised as becoming by consecration "verily and indeed" the Body of Christ, and not a mere symbol of that

lay in the sepulchre, and rose again from the sepulchre, and which not in outward show°, but in substance, was

Body; that the conception presented by the theory shall have no carnal or material grossness; and finally that there shall hang about the doctrine that profound mysteriousness, any attempt to dissipate which Reason herself assures us to be most unreasonable. Surely, by understanding the Body of Christ to be His Body in its present glorified and supra-natural state, these conditions are complied with. The bread is bread still in its real natural substance. And yet by an unspeakable and transcendent mystery that bread has become by consecration verily and indeed "the Lord's Body"—His *risen* Body, subject to different laws from those of Nature, as was shewn by its passing through closed doors, vanishing, and ascending into Heaven after the Resurrection. The errors to be guarded against on either side, the Scylla and Charybdis between which the theological voyager must steer his course, are, 1st. the position that the substance of the Bread and Wine are abolished, called by Archdeacon Freeman the Annihilation Theory, and 2dly the position that the elements are *only* symbols and figures, and the whole Ordinance only an ἀνάμνησις.

° "which not in outward appearance only (*non fantastice*), but in substance was manifested," &c.

The reference is probably to St. Luke xxiv. 37, 39; "But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit. And he said unto them .... Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." And again, St. John xx. 27; "Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side: and be not faithless, but believing." And again, 1 John i. 1; "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life."

These passages of Holy Scripture are decisive against the errors of the Phantastics or Docetæ, who "while the Apostles still survived" (to use Jerome's words, *Adversus Luciferianos*, Opp., tom. iv. part ii. col. 304), "and while yet the Blood of Christ had been recently shed in Judæa, asserted that the Lord's Body was a *phantom*." Docetism was a form of Gnosticism. One school of Gnostics "imagined that Jesus was a mere man, and maintained that the æon Christ" (an æon was a created emanation from the Deity) "descended upon the Man Jesus at His baptism, and left Him immediately before His crucifixion, so that Christ was not in fact subjected to pain and death: while others held that the body, with which Christ appeared to be invested, was not really human and passible, but unsubstantial, or ethereal, or at least immaterial." (Waddington's Church Hist., vol. i. ch. v. p. 148.) The different doctrines of these two schools of Gnostics were only in fact different forms of one fundamental error—which was the inherent evil of matter. This was a great principle of Gnostic theology; and the result was of course that in one shape or other their theories divorced matter as far as possible from God and from all Divine emanations.

lis apparuit. atque incorruptibilis et inmortalis in dextera Dei consistit. Eadem et de liquore facto cruore Christi asserimus. astruimus. et prædicamus. Magna rerum conversio. set verbo dei nichil inpossibile est. Potuit verbum dei de nichilo facere omnia. et non poterit de aliquo facere aliquid? Possibile fuit deo dicere. fiat lux. et facta

But why does Herbert insert into his argument these words "non fantastice sed substantialiter," "not in outward semblance but in substance?" How does it make for his purpose?

His opponents would admit the elements to be a figure or *outward show* of the Body and Blood of Christ, but *not substantially* His Body and Blood. "But," Herbert would answer (if we understand aright the implication in his words), "the Apostles, and particularly St. Thomas, were at first under the impression that the Post-resurrection appearances of Christ were unreal and shadowy things—mere phantoms. They were undeceived however; and it was shewn by Christ Himself that His Body was *substantially* present after the Resurrection." "Reach hither *thy finger*, and *behold* my hands (compare *substantialiter* and *oculis apparuit*); and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side."

p "The same we maintain, ascribe, and preach"—*Eadem asserimus, astruimus, et prædicamus.*

"Adstruo" properly signifies to "build on to," "add another room or story to a house." Hence, simply "to add," "to increase," "to enhance." And, in a moral sense, "to ascribe, attribute to." Thus Martial; "An quæ Neroni falsus *adstruit* scriptor?" (Is Canius engaged in committing to imperishable documents the acts which some lying adulatory writer *attributes to* Nero?) In the lower Latin the dative of the person is dropped, the verb means little more than to *assert, maintain, claim for*, and is sometimes constructed with an accusative and infinitive. It is several times used by Lanfranc, as it is here, in connexion with the Eucharistic subject. Thus; "Si verum est quod de corpore Christi tu credis et *astruis*" (what *you* believe and *maintain, claim for it*), "falsum est quod ab Ecclesiâ ubique gentium de eâdem re creditur et *astruitur*" (what is believed and *maintained*). (Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Dom., Opp., vol. ii. p. 195.) Again; "You would be foolish to assert that the widow of Zarephath could not have eaten of the oil in her cruse, because it was not diminished, since the Scripture expressly saith that 'she and he and her house *did* eat' of it;" "Non dissimili gravaris vecordiâ, si idcirco moliaris *astruere* non posse ali Ecclesiam carne ac sanguine Redemptoris sui, quia Apostolus dicit: 'Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur, mors illi ultrà non dominabitur;' cùm ipse Dominus loquens discipulis suis testetur, dicens: 'Accipite et manducate, hoc est corpus meum.'" ("You labour under a similar stupidity, if you go about to *maintain* that the Church cannot be nourished

manifested to the eyes of the disciples, and now standeth uncorruptible and immortal at the right hand of God. The same we maintain, ascribe [p], and preach, concerning the liquor in the Sacrament, which becometh the blood of Christ. A great change of things; but to the word of God nothing is impossible. The word of God was able to make all things of nothing; and shall it not be able to make something of something [q]? It was possible

with the flesh and blood of her Redeemer, because the Apostle saith, 'Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more,'—since the Lord Himself testifies to His disciples, saying, 'Take, eat; this is My Body.'") Opp. Lanfr., vol. ii. p. 176. And again, in a quotation from St. Ambrose (De Mysteriis Liber, cap. ix. sec. 53, tom. ii. col. 339): Sed quid argumentis utimur? Suis utamur exemplis, Incarnationisque exemplo *adstruamus* mysterii veritatem. (But why do we employ arguments? Let us rather employ the examples which He Himself has given, and by the example of the Incarnation let us maintain the truth of this mystery [the Eucharistic]).

[q] The sentiment seems to be drawn from the two treatises above mentioned, which go under the name of Ambrose, neither Herbert nor Lanfranc (who also quotes them) making any question of their genuineness.

(De Mysteriis, ch. ix. sec. 52, tom. ii. col. 339.) "De totius mundi operibus legisti: *Quia ipse dixit, et facta sunt: Ipse mandavit, et creata sunt;* sermo ergo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quæ sunt, in id mutare quod non erant?"

(De Sacramentis, lib. iv. cap. iv. sec. 15, tom. ii. col. 368.) "Jussit Dominus, et factum est cælum: jussit Dominus, et facta est terra: jussit Dominus, et facta sunt maria. Jussit Dominus, et omnis creatura generata est. Vides ergò quàm operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur? Cælum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat; sed audi dicentem David: *Ipse dixit, et facta sunt: ipse mandavit et creata sunt.*"

Herbert, however, wrests the Scripture, when he represents Our Lord to have said, "Let bread become My Body, and the cup My Blood." Had He said so, there would have been an end of controversy. But, first, He did not use the imperative, but the indicative mood. And, secondly, He did not use the verb *to become* but the verb *to be*. How careful should we be not to pervert His blessed words in the slightest degree! Christ had said *something like* "I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands." But He had used the imperative instead of the indicative in the first clause, and His adversaries had foisted into that particular speech a phrase ("made with hands") which they had doubtless heard Him use on other occasions in connexion with the Temple. And the two little modifications produced a totally false impression, and they who made them are truly called false witnesses.

est lux. fiat firmamentum et factum est. fiat arida. fiat aqua. et facte sunt. et fiant omnes creature. et fuerunt. et dicet deus. Fiat panis corpus meum et calix sanguis meus et non erunt? Illa fuerunt verbo dei possibilia. et hec verbo dei impossibilia erunt? Immo impossibilissimum est non fieri quicquid fieri dei verbum præcipit. Ratio quæritur. set ea est summa ratio voluntati et verbo dei credere. et fatuis investigationibus. occulta et secreta divina opera nullatenus perscrutari. Ecce fratres prædicto sacramento. corporaliter iusti et iniusti cibantur et potantur. set iusti ad salutem.

r "Both the righteous and unrighteous are fed and given to drink *as to their bodies.*"

No member of the Reformed Church can object to this very moderate statement. The implication is, surely, that the unrighteous are *not* fed and given to drink *spiritually*, but only corporally. And "fed and given to drink" of what? Not of the Body and Blood of Christ, but "by the Sacrament aforesaid." Our 29th Article says exactly the same thing. "The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, ... do, to their condemnation, eat the sign or *Sacrament* of so great a thing." Herbert's expressions, therefore, are capable of a perfectly sound interpretation, though of course in consequence of the great latitude of meaning with which the word *Sacramentum* was in those days used (see the note on its use in Herbert's writings), it is quite open to suppose that he may have regarded the word in this place as exactly equivalent to "Corpus et Sanguis Christi."

The doctrine that "the unrighteous" receive the Body of Christ in the Holy Communion is the legitimate corollary of Transubstantiation. No sooner had this dogma received its full scholastic development, than it was fully admitted, and even argued upon as an axiom, that the wicked might receive Christ's Body. Peter Lombard, having first started the question whether an animal could receive the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, to which he himself declined to give an answer, Alexander Hales, about a century after, "took the affirmative side of the question, in support of which he asserted that, if a *sinner* could receive the Body of Christ, the same might be supposed, with much more propriety, in the case of an *innocent* animal." (Hagenbach's Hist. of Doctrines, vol. ii. p. 100.)

Bishop Harold Browne states the question that has arisen on the subject of the Communion of the wicked with his usual clearness, and argues it with his usual fairness. We extract a passage or two;

"There are but two possible views of the question. Either the wicked

with the Lord to say, *Let there be light, and there was light; let there be a firmament,* and it was made; let there be dry land, let there be water, and they were made; and let all creatures be, and they were; and shall God say, Let bread become my body, and the cup my blood, and shall it not be? Those things were possible to the word of God; and shall these things be impossible to the same word? Nay, the most impossible of things is that that should not be done, which the word of God biddeth to be done. The reason of these things is searched for; but it is the highest reason to trust to the will and word of God, and in no wise to make search with fond inquisition into the hidden and secret work of God. Look you, brethren, by the Sacrament aforesaid both the righteous and the unrighteous are fed and given to drink as to their bodies[r]; but the

See Gen. i. 3, 6, 9, &c.

and unbelieving do not eat Christ's Body and Blood, but only their sacred symbols; or they eat the Body and Blood, but to condemnation, not to salvation. The former alternative has generally been held, in latter times, by the advocates of a spiritual feeding; the latter by believers in Transubstantiation, and, I suppose, by most believers in Consubstantiation. The Fathers' teaching is naturally obscure on this point. They so constantly call the symbols by the name of that they symbolised, that they would commonly speak of eating the Body of Christ when they meant only the consecrated Bread, the Sacrament of His Body. Yet plain passages occur, which are strongly in favour of the view taken by our Reformers in this Article."

One of the chief of these passages is that which is quoted in the article itself from St. Augustine. Some part of it, which Bishop Harold Browne has enclosed in brackets, is thought by the Benedictine editors to have been interpolated; but even so its main scope is not altered.

"In *one sense of the words* we may admit that every communicant eats Christ's Body and drinks His Blood; because he eats the symbol which is called His Body (*Corpus, hoc est figura corporis*), and drinks the symbol which is called His Blood. But all that has been said in former Articles to disprove the doctrine of the *opus operatum*, applies here. The actual reception of Christ's Body and Blood is the reception, not of the outward sign, but of the inward grace. Now, the inward grace of the Sacraments belongs only to the faithful, not to the impenitent and unbelieving. Of course, if we admit a physical change in the elements, we must believe Christ's Body to be eaten, not only by the wicked, but, as has often been argued, by mice or dogs, or any other animal, that may accidentally devour a portion of the consecrated bread. Hence the contrary position to the statement of this Article follows, of necessity, on the doctrine of Transub-

iniusti vero utuntur ad suam dampnationem. Unde apostolus. Qui enim inquit indigne manducat et bibit.. iudicium sibi manducat et bibit. non diiudicans corpus domini. Et subsequuntur. Ideo inter vos multi infirmi et inbecilles et moriuntur multi. Hoc sacramentum fratres. non per partes. set totum singuli accipitis inscissum. indivisum. integrum. inmaculatum. Ubi ridiculi videntur mihi heretici. qui. quærunt quo propter nostram commestionem præsens convertatur sacramentum.

stantiation. But then, the opposite doctrine of an efficacious, spiritual presence, and that rather in the recipient than in the element, seems inevitably to issue in the doctrine here propounded." (Exposition of the 39 Articles, Art. xxix. pp. 729, 730.)

All this seems clear and indisputable; and yet it should be said that the language of this 29th Article (as also that of the third paragraph of the 28th) are not understood by all members of the Reformed Church as excluding the doctrine that the wicked receive the body of Christ in the Holy Communion. Archdeacon Denison, in 1854, advisedly maintained and affirmed, "that the Body and Blood of Christ, being really present after an immaterial and spiritual manner in the consecrated bread and wine, are therein and thereby given to all, and are received by all, who come to the Lord's Table;" and "that to all who come to the Lord's Table, to those who eat and drink worthily, and to those who eat and drink unworthily, the Body and Blood of Christ are given; and that by all who come to the Lord's Table, by those who eat and drink worthily, and by those who eat and drink unworthily, the Body and Blood of Christ are received."

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sumner), with three assessors (Dr. Lushington, Dr. Heurtley, and Dean Johnson of Wells), tried the above positions of Archdeacon Denison by the standards of our Church. The result was a Declaration, in the nature of an interlocutory judgment, read by Dr. Lushington on Aug. 12, 1854. This declaration set forth that the doctrine of the Archdeacon, as stated above, "is contrary and repugnant to the 28th and 29th Articles; and that the true and legal exposition of the said Articles is, that *the Body and Blood of Christ are taken and received by the worthy receivers only, who, in taking and receiving the same by faith, do spiritually eat the Flesh of Christ and drink His Blood;* whilst the wicked and unworthy, by eating the bread and drinking the wine without faith, do not in any wise eat, take, or receive, the Body and Blood of Christ, being devoid of faith, whereby only the Body and Blood of Christ can be taken, eaten, and received."

The theological question was never carried to any higher tribunal than that constituted under the Church Discipline Act, the sentence of depriva-

righteous use the Sacrament unto salvation, the unrighteous on the other hand unto their own damnation. Whence the Apostle saith; *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself, not discerning the Lord's body.* And then there follows; *Therefore are there many infirm and weak among you, and many die.* This Sacrament, brethren, ye receive not by parts; but each of you receive it whole and entire, without cleaving or division, and without spot. In which matter the heretics appear to me worthy of derision, who ask scoffingly into what that which is a Sacrament at present is changed[8] by reason of our eating it.

1 Cor. xi. 29, 30.

tion pronounced by that tribunal upon the Archdeacon being quashed by the Court of Arches, and afterwards by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, on the ground of informality in the proceedings. [See Brodrick and Fremantle's Ecclesiastical Judgments, DITCHER *v.* DENISON, pp. 159, 160, 165, 166, 175.]

We have thus brought under review the present position in which this question now stands as regards our own Church. Herbert's position in the text is, we venture to think, *as he has worded it*, quite incapable of being assailed, long as he lived before the Reformation.

[8] "who ask scoffingly into what that which is a Sacrament at present is changed by our eating it."

This is an allusion to the imaginary heresy called Stercoranism, of which we give an account in the words of Mosheim (Cent. 9. part ii. chap. iii. sec. xxi. vol. ii. 342);

"The disputants in this controversy charged each other reciprocally with the most odious doctrines, which each party drew by way of consequences from the tenets they opposed, a method of proceeding as unjust as it is common in all kinds of debate. Hence arose that imaginary heresy which (upon the triumphant progress of the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the eleventh century) was branded with the title of Stercoranism, and of which the true origin was as follows: They who, embracing the opinion of Paschasius Radbert, believe that the bread and wine in the Sacrament were substantially changed after the consecration, and preserved only their external figure, drew a most unjust conclusion from the opinion of their adversaries, who maintained, on the contrary, that the bread and wine preserved their substance, and that Christ's Body and Blood were only figuratively and not really present in the Eucharist. They alleged that the doctrine of the latter implied, that the Body of Christ was digested in the stomach, and was thrown out with the other excrements. But this consequence was quickly retorted upon those that imagined it; for they who denied the metamorphosis of the bread and wine into the real Body and Blood of Christ, charged the same enormous consequences upon their anta-

Infelicissimi. et absurdissimi ante commestionem facta est illa conversio rei corruptibilis in incorruptibilem. et mortalis in immortalem. frangitur
f. 228 b. quidem manibus fidelium. set integer permanet in natura sua. Atteritur. et commeditur vera nostrorum dentium commestione set immortale.

gonists, who believed this transmutation; and the charge was much more applicable certainly to the latter than to the former. The truth of the matter is, that it was neither truly applicable to the one nor to the other, and their mutual reproaches, most wretchedly founded, shew rather a spirit of invective than a zeal for the truth. The charge of Stercoranism is but a malignant invention; it can never, without the most absurd impudence, be brought against those who deny the transmutation of the bread into the body of Christ; it may indeed be charged upon such as allow of this transmutation, though it be a consequence that none of them, who were not phrenetic, did perhaps ever avow."

Rabanus Maurus (quoted by Gieseler, Eccl. Hist., vol. ii. p. 286, note, Third Period, Div. i. § 14), in answer to a question put to him whether the Eucharist shared in the results of digestion like other food, categorically answers that it *does*, on the ground of our Lord's own words, "*Whatsoever* entereth in (*πᾶν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον*) at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught." One can entirely understand therefore how this early Protestant was charged by the advocates of Transubstantiation with Stercoranism. Herbert shews us how the charge was rebutted by Transubstantiationists, when directed against themselves. "The body of Christ," they would say, which underlies the phenomena of bread and wine, "is incorruptible and divine, and cannot be subjected to any animal process."

t "It is broken doubtless by the hands of the faithful; but yet in its own nature it remaineth entire."

One of the subtle questions raised about the Eucharist by the Scholastics was, "In what respect can it be said that the Body of Christ is actually broken together with the bread?" Thomas Aquinas answered it by saying that the Body is broken only *secundum speciem sacramentalem*, but is in itself *incorruptibile* et *impassibile*. Christ is wholly and undivided in every particle of the host. (See Hagenbach's Hist. of Doctrines, vol. ii. § 194, note (6), p. 100.)

And so Hugo de S. Victore (De Sacramentis, lib. 2. pars viii. cap. xi. Opp., tom. ii. col. 469);

"When you see parts in the Sacrament of the Altar, do not think of the Body of Christ, as if it were divided or separated from itself, or sundered into so many members. He remaineth entire in Himself, and is not divided or parted. But it was necessary that what pertains to the mystical signification [of the Sacrament] should be exhibited to thee according to the outward form. Externally therefore He sheweth thee an

Most wretched, and most foolish men! before ye eat it, that change of a corruptible into an incorruptible, and of a mortal into an immortal thing is made. It is broken doubtless by the hands of the faithful, but yet [t] in its own nature it remaineth entire. [s] It is bruised and eaten by the true [u] action of our teeth; and yet the

outward form whereby thy senses may be instructed, while internally He maintaineth the incorruption of His Body, in respect of which its unity is not divided."

And the next chapter states generally that all unworthy accidents, which may attach to the Sacrament, are to be held as attaching to the outward form only, and not as affecting its inner reality.

In Edward the Sixth's first Prayer-Book, there was added to the Rubric prescribing the form and nature of the Bread used at the Communion, the following caution;

"And men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them (the two pieces of the wafer bread) the whole body of Our Saviour Jesu Christ." (Liturgies of K. Edw. VI., p. 97.)

It is observable that our Herbert should speak of the bread as broken by the hands of the *faithful*, not by the hands of the *priests*, and the more so as the profession of faith required by Cardinal Humbert from Berengarius at the synod of Rome in 1059 makes mention of the hands of the priests. Berengar was to swear that he believed "panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, et sensualiter, non solum sacramento, sed in veritate *manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri*" (Hagenbach, vol. ii. § 193. note (7), p. 95). Perhaps Herbert was adopting Humbert's phraseology, and by mistake wrote *fidelium manibus* for *fidelium dentibus;* but we will rather hope that he had in his mind, and framed his language upon, the inspired words of St. Paul, "The bread which WE break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ" (1 Cor. x. 16); on which text Dean Alford says; "Observe, the first person plural is the *same throughout;* the blessing of the Cup, and the breaking of the Bread, the acts of Consecration, were *not the acts of the minister, as by any authority peculiar to himself, but only as the representative of the* οἱ πάντες, *the whole Christian congregation.*" (Alford, Gr. Test. in loc.) Without by any means allowing (with the Dean) that sacerdotal consecration is a figment, we may properly hold that the faithful must concur in the act, and that the Priest (*Persona Ecclesiæ*) represents in it the whole body of the faithful. Justin, in his account of the primitive celebration of the ordinance, calls the minister merely "the President of the Brethren," and recognises that all the people must ἐπευφημεῖν (indicate their assent) by the *Amen* at the end of the Consecration Prayer. See 1 Cor. xiv. 16, and Professor Blunt's excellent comment upon it (Church in the First Three Centuries, pp. 33, 34).

[u] "It is bruised and eaten by the true action of our teeth." Among modern Roman Catholics it is understood and inculcated that the conse-

et incorruptibile Christi corpus nulli subiacet corruptioni. Queris intelligere. set tue vanitati spiritus sanctus occurrit. Maiora inquit te ne quesieris. et altiora te ne scrutatus fueris. Communiter igitur hac corporis et sanguinis Christi corporali commestione utuntur boni. utuntur et mali. set ve illis qui per offendiculum manducant. Hoc sancti apostoli comederunt ad salutem. comedit et iudas ad suam dampnationem. quoniam post

crated wafer may never be touched with the teeth. The following directions are taken from Bp. Challoner's "Garden of the Soul," a Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instructions very generally used by members of the Roman Communion in this country (*Devotions before Communion*, p. 252);

"At the time of your receiving, let your head be erect, your mouth opened moderately wide, and your tongue a little advanced, so as to rest upon your under lip, that the priest may conveniently convey the blessed sacrament into your mouth; which being done, shut your mouth, let the sacred host moisten a little upon your tongue, and then swallow it down as soon as you can, and afterwards abstain awhile from spitting. If the host should chance to stick to the roof of your mouth, be not disturbed; neither must you put your finger into your mouth to remove it, but gently and quietly remove it with your tongue, and so convey it down; and then return to your place, and endeavour to entertain, as well as you can, the guest whom you have received."

We have seen the prohibition to touch the Sacrament with the teeth rested on the text, "A bone of Him shall not be broken;" but when this prohibition, and the other instructions connected with it, first made its appearance in the Roman Church, and on what authority, other than that of custom, they rest, we are unable to say. Evidently Herbert knew of no prohibition to consume the Sacrament with the teeth.

The use of wafer bread in the Eucharist (which would seem to hang together with the foregoing instructions, for with the ordinary bread it would not be very easy to carry them into effect) came in about the time of Herbert. In earlier ages it was unknown. See Bingham's discussion of this subject, book xv. chap. ii. sec. 5, vol. ii. p. 757; "So long as the people continued to make oblations of bread and wine, the elements for the use of the Eucharist were usually taken out of them; and by consequence, so long the bread was that common leavened bread which they used upon other occasions; and the use of wafers and unleavened bread was not known in the Church until the eleventh or twelfth centuries, when the oblations of common bread began to be left off by the people." This probably "occasioned the clergy to provide it for themselves; and they, under pretence of decency and respect, brought it from

immortal and incorruptible body of Christ is subject to no corruption. You seek to understand this; but the Holy Spirit meets you in your vain enquiry [with these words]; *Seek not things greater than thyself, neither search into things deeper than thyself.* The good, then, and the bad alike use this bodily partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament; but woe to them who eat with offence. The holy Apostles ate this Body unto salvation; Judas ate[x] it also, unto his own damna-

Ecclus. iii. 22; and see also Job xi. 7, 8.

See Rom. xiv. 20.

leaven to unleaven, and from a loaf of common bread, that might be broken, to a nice and delicate wafer, formed in the figure of a *denarius*, or penny, to represent the pence (as some authors about that time will have it) for which our Saviour was betrayed; and then also the people, instead of offering a loaf of bread, as formerly, were ordered to offer a penny, which was either to be given to the poor, or to be expended upon something appertaining to the sacrifice of the altar." Bingham then shews how at the first appearance of wafer-bread, a protest was made against it, "Bernoldus, a learned presbyter of Constance, about the year 1089, having written a book De Ordine Romano, wherein he reflected upon these wafer-hosts or oblations." (sec. 6.)

Edward the Sixth's First Prayer-Book (1549) ordered "the bread prepared for the Communion" to be "unleavened, and round, as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in divers pieces." In the Second Book (1552) the Rubric on this point was altered to its present form; "It shall *suffice*" (without excluding unleavened bread, and even without denying that it was the preferable form) "that the bread be such, as is usual to be eaten at table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten." (Liturgies of K. Edward VI., Parker Society, pp. 97, 283. And for Abp. Parker's interpretation of the last rubric, see Canon Robertson's "How shall we conform to the Liturgy?" Part ii. ch. xv. pp. 167, 168.)

[x] "Judas ate it also."

This is a moot point. Mr. Plumptre, in the article JUDAS, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible (vol. i. 1162, note (c)), tells us;

"The question whether Judas was a partaker of the Lord's Supper is encompassed with many difficulties, both dogmatic and harmonistic. The general consensus of Patristic Commentators gives an affirmative, that of modern critics a negative answer. (Comp. Meyer, Comm. on St. John xiii. 26.)"

Our Church assumes, according to the views current at the time when the Reformed Book of Common Prayer was drawn up, that Judas was a partaker; for she makes his case a warning against unworthy communion in the notice, which she directs to be given on the Sunday previous. (It is observable that this passage has been transplanted hither from the position which it occupied in King Edward's Prayer-Books, where it occurs in

buccellam statim introivit in eum sathanas. et exivit et pecuniam accepit. et dominum prodidit. eum vili nundinatus precio qui comparari poterat. nullius iniqui precio. At is quidem dominici corporis et sanguinis corporalis et temporalis usus est. Ceterum spiritualis comestio fidei et dilectiones (*sic*) quæ predicta corporali significatur. solis electis discreta est et in eternum permanebit.

the address at the time of Celebration, between "sundry kinds of death" and "Judge therefore yourselves, Brethren"). "Therefore if any of you be a blasphemer of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his Word, an adulterer, or be in malice, or envy, or in any other grievous crime, repent you of your sins, or else come not to that holy Table; lest, after the taking of that holy Sacrament, the devil enter into you, as he entered into Judas, and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction both of body and soul." The passage referred to is of course St. John xiii. 26, 27, "And when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. And after the sop Satan entered into him." Augustine denies that this sop was the Lord's Supper, which however he maintains that Judas with the rest had previously received.

"It was not *then*, as some think who read negligently, that Judas received Christ's Body. For it is to be understood that the Lord had already distributed to them all the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, among whom was Judas also, as St. Luke most evidently relates the matter (St. Luke xxii. 19—21); and after that we came to this, where, according to the relation of St. John, the Lord by dipping and handing him the sop does most openly declare His betrayer; belike by the *dipping* of the bread betokening his feigning. For not all dipping is meant for washing; some things are dipped only to dye them. If, however, the dipping here signifies something good, his ingratitude to that same good was not undeservedly followed by damnation." (Hom. on St. John, lxii. 3; Lib. of Fathers, S. Aug. on S. John, vol. ii. p. 750.)

Again;

"Even to the Supper of the Lord Judas came alike with the rest. . . . of one bread both Peter and Judas received; and yet what part hath a believer with an infidel? For Peter received unto life, Judas unto death. Thus as it was with that good odour, so with that good food. As then the good odour, so also the good food is life to the good, death to the bad. *For whoso shall eat and drink unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself.*" (Hom. on St. John, l. 10, vol. ii. pp. 675, 676.)

Again;

"Not of their number is this man, who, while he fed upon His Bread,

tion, when after the sop forthwith Satan entered into him, and he went out and received money and betrayed the Lord, selling[y] Him for a mean price, Who could not be gotten for the price given by any ungodly man. Yet he had a bodily and temporal partaking of the Lord's Body and Blood. But the spiritual partaking of faith and love, which is signified by the bodily partaking aforesaid, is reserved to the elect alone, and will endure

See St. John xiii. 27.

lifted up his heel against Him. They ate the Bread, the Lord; he the Bread of the Lord against the Lord; they, Life; he, punishment." (Hom. on St. John, lix. 1, p. 737. Observe the guardedness of the expression—they ate the Lord, in eating the Bread; he only the *Bread of the Lord*, and that against the Lord.)

Greswell thus arranges the incidents of the Supper: 1. The reclining and passing round of the inaugural Cup. 2. The foot-washing and conversation thereon. 3. The institution of the Breaking of Bread or first part of the Supper. 4. The prediction of the Betrayal, the giving of the sop, and the exit of the traitor. 5. The discourse after the traitor's egress. 6. The institution of the Eucharistic Cup. According to this arrangement, therefore, Judas partook of the Sacrament of the Body, but not of that of the Blood.

[y] "selling Him for a mean price, Who could not be gotten for the price given by any ungodly man" ("eum vili *nundinatus* pretio, qui comparari poterat nullius iniqui pretio").

The word *nundinor* is exceedingly well chosen; for Forcellinus tells us that this word is "generally used in a bad acceptation of those who either sell or buy for money what it is an impiety to sell and buy." Thus it is used of bribery, and of selling judicial sentences in favour of an accused party. By *nundinæ* (novem dinæ) is meant the ninth day of the Roman week. There were only seven days between two *nundinæ*, and therefore the second *nundina* would only be the ninth day by counting the first *nundina* as one. These *nundinæ* being market days for the country-folk, when they came up to Rome to sell their produce, and to have their disputes settled by the king, *nundinæ* came to mean "a market," "trade," "traffic," "sale." See Sermon IV. pp. 94, 95, note c.

We take the next clause to mean that "Christ could not be got at such a price as an unrighteous man could give." Perhaps the writer was about to say that Judas sold Him who could not be gotten at any price, whom there is no buying, as He is above all price; but then it may have struck him that Christ is represented in the Gospels as the pearl of great price, which the merchantman sold all that he had in order to buy. St. Paul suffered the loss of all things that he might win Christ—this was the price he paid for the pearl. But then St. Paul was a righteous man—Christ could not be gotten at any price by an unrighteous one.

excepto quod fides convertetur in cognitionem. et dilectio perficietur in omnem plenitudinem præstante domino nostro ihesu Christo: qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat per omnia sæcula sæculorum Amen.

for ever, except in this respect, that faith will be changed into knowledge, and that love will be perfected unto all its fulness, our Lord Jesus Christ granting this, Who together with the Father and the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth world without end. Amen.

VIII.

In red letters.

SERMO

IN ASCENSIONE DOMINI.

Recumbentibus undecim discipulis. apparuit illis ihesus. et exprobravit incredulitatem illorum et duriciam cordis. quia his qui viderant eum resurrexisse a mortuis non crediderant. Recumbentibus discipulis apparuit dominus. quoniam cum eis convivatur dominus. qui in caritate comedunt. et suas pauperibus communicant mensas. Cum recumbentibus recumbit. quoniam compatientibus compatitur. nec avertit faciem suam ab elemosina quam pietas* in sinu pauperis abscondit. Unde propheta. Dispersit inquit dedit pauperibus. iusticia eius manet in sæculum sæculi. Et apostolus. Hospitales invicem. sine murmuratione. Et alibi. Qui parte (*sic*) seminat parce et metet. et qui seminat in benedictionibus et metet vitam æternam.

f. 228 b, col. 2.

[a] "He lieth on the bed with them that lie"—*cum recumbentibus recumbit.* It seems that Herbert takes advantage of the double meaning borne by the word *recumbo*, to recline at table, and to lie down upon a bed in the time of sickness. In the former sentence he drew a lesson from the first of these meanings, which was that Christ sups with those who from their table feed the poor, sending portions to them for whom nothing is prepared (Neh. viii. 10), and eating the dinner of herbs with love for one another (Prov. xv. 17). Here he takes up the second meaning, and gives it a practical application, which is that in the hour of languishing the Lord comforts the man who considereth the poor, and makes all his bed in his sickness. (Ps. xli. 3.)

[b] Mediæval divines often quote as Prophets those whom modern religious writers quote as Psalmists. The chief of the Psalmists is recognised

VIII.

A SERMON

ON THE LORD'S ASCENSION.

Jesus appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen Him after He was risen from the dead. St. Mark xvi. 14. The Lord appeared to the disciples as they were sitting at meat, since He suppeth with them, who eat their meat in charity, and send a portion from their table to the poor. He lieth[a] on the bed with them that lie on the bed, seeing that He hath compassion for them who have compassion for others, and turneth not his face away from the alms which brotherly kindness hideth in the lap of the poor. Whence the Prophet[b] saith; *He hath dispersed abroad, He hath given to the poor*[c], *His righteousness remaineth for ever.* Ps. cxii. 9, and see 2 Cor. ix. 9. And the Apostle: *Use hospitality one to another without grudging.* 1 Pet. iv. 9. And elsewhere; *He who soweth sparingly, shall reap also sparingly, and he who soweth bountifully shall reap life* 2 Cor. ix. 6.

in Scripture itself as having been also a Prophet. "The patriarch David, . . . being a *prophet*, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne; he *seeing this before* spake of the resurrection of Christ." (Acts ii. 29—31.) The usage of modern writers, however, marks better the three-fold division of the Old Testament recognised by our Lord Himself, "the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms." (St. Luke xxiv. 44.)

[c] This passage is quoted by the Apostle Paul (2 Cor. ix. 9) in enforcing the duty of almsgiving; and it is remarkable as being the only place in which the word πένης is used in the Greek Testament. Πτωχὸς is the usual word for a poor man. Πένης denotes the poor as one who has to toil for his bread (πένομαι); πτωχὸς, as one intrinsically miserable, crouching and cowering as he begs an alms (πτώσσω).

Exprobavit incredulitatem illorum. et duriciam cordis? qui iis qui viderant eum resurrexisse a mortuis? non crediderant. Sera fuit fratres de dominica resurrectione discipulorum credulitas. set sanctæ ecclesiæ futuris successionibus valde necessaria. qui non vidimus. et in dominum resurgentem credimus. quod nimirum divina dispensatione actum? dominus loquitur ad thomam. Quia vidisti me inquit thoma credidisti. beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt. Quesivit eum ad monumentum maria magdalene. illa amatrix. et fidelis discipula. quæsivit et invenit. et prima visione. in dominum credidit. Peractamque dominicam resurrectionem. apostolis securissime nuntiavit. Thomas dubitavit. et vulnerum cicatrices tetigit. credidit.

[d] "The belief of the disciples was *late*." In all probability Herbert has in his mind the word "Novissimè," with which his text commences, though he does not quote it; "*Novissime* recumbentibus illis undecim apparuit," ὕστερον, ἀνακειμένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἕνδεκα ἐφανερώθη (Mar. xvi. 14)—a word which gave some difficulty to the Fathers. "Novissime," "on the latest occasion;"—but if this were the latest occasion of our Lord's appearing to His disciples, why does He upbraid them, *because they believed not them which had seen Him after He was risen?* Had they not seen Him *themselves*, many times, after He had risen? And would not the reproof therefore have been, *because they believed not the evidence of their own senses?* Augustine answers this objection thus (we give the *sense* of the passage): "Our Lord is about to send His Apostles to the Gentiles, whom they must require to believe things they had never seen on the testimony of the preachers. As the preachers then are to require faith without sight from others, should not they themselves be solemnly expostulated with in the first instance, for not having believed the tidings of the Resurrection on the testimony of St. Mary Magdalene and the women." (Aug. in Lib. of Fathers, Comment on the Four Gospels, St. Mark in loc., p. 344.) The above is the view taken by Augustine, Gregory, and Bede. Maldonatus, who rejects it, pertinently remarks that ὕστερον does not mean "on the latest occasion" (which would be ὕστατον), but, "on a later occasion." Maldon. Comm. in Marc. xvi. 14, vol. iii. p. 146. Of later commentators, Dean Alford considers that St. Mark, in the concluding section of his Gospel (ch. xvi. 14—to end), groups together, after his own concise manner, four several appearances of our Lord; (1.) the appearance to the

everlasting. He upbraideth them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen Him after that He was risen from the dead. The belief of the disciples, brethren, in the Lord's Resurrection [d] was late; but its lateness was very needful for future generations of the Holy Church, even for us who have not seen, and yet who believe in the Lord as rising again;—which thing no doubt was brought about by a dispensation of God. The Lord speaketh [thus] to Thomas; *Thomas, because thou hast seen Me, thou hast believed; blessed are they who have not seen and yet have believed.* Mary Magdalene, that loving and faithful disciple, sought Him at the sepulchre; she sought and found Him, and at His first appearance believed on the Lord, and confidently declared to the Apostles that the Lord's Resurrection had been accomplished. Thomas, on the other hand, doubted [e], and touched [f] the print of His wounds, believed, and cried

St. John xx. 29.

See St. John xx. 18.

eleven immediately after the return of the two from Emmaus, when He ate the fish and honeycomb (St. Luke xxiv. 36—50); (2.) the appearance on the mountain in Galilee (where Jesus had appointed them), when the commission to preach and baptize were given (St. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20); (3.) an unrecorded appearance when the miraculous gifts of the Spirit were promised; and (4.) the appearance which terminated in the Ascension. (See Alford in loc., vol. i. p. 300.) But probably (2) and (3) were the same interviews. As St. Thomas cannot have been with them in the first of these interviews, we must take "the eleven" as a general phrase for the whole body of the Apostles, when St. Luke says, "they found the eleven gathered together."

[e] "Thomas, on the other hand, doubted." St. Mary Magdalene and St. Thomas may be regarded as types respectively of the female and the male character:—the woman all affection and tenderness, prone and quick to believe what she wishes to believe, and not disturbed for a moment by intellectual difficulties; the man, although a most devoted and sincere adherent (see St. John xi. 16, "Let us also go, that we may die with Him"), yet made of sterner stuff, demanding evidence satisfactory to his own mind, and sceptical until such evidence is produced; and (which is a very curious point of the contrast) not wanting in deepest reverence, when brought to conviction, whereas the woman's emotions had been rather those of an over-familiar ardour, which required repression (compare St. John xx. 16, 17, with the same chapter, v. 28).

[f] "Thomas touched the print of His wounds."

But it is quite a moot-point whether St. Thomas did accept our Lord's

et exclamavit deus meus et dominus meus. Plus ergo hesitatio thome. quam mulieris velocitas confert ecclesiæ. Illa vidit et credidit. et sue profuit saluti. Thomas vero dubitavit. et palpavit. corporeoque tactu. omnem maculam incredulitatis.

offer and touch Him; and the current opinion of modern divines seems to be that he did not.

The Fathers, however, generally suppose with Herbert that St. Thomas put our Lord's words to the proof by actually touching Him, though if it had been so, our Lord would hardly have said, "Thomas, because thou hast *seen* Me, thou hast believed."

Thus Theophylact (Lib. of Fathers, Comm. on Four Gospels, St. John, vol. iv. part ii. p. 611);

"He who had been before unbelieving, *after touching the body*, shewed himself the best divine; for he asserted the twofold nature and one Person of Christ; by saying, *My Lord*, the human nature; by saying, *My God*, the Divine; and by joining them both, confessed that one and the same Person was Lord and God."

And Augustine (ibid.)

"Thomas saw and *touched* the Man, and confessed the God whom he neither saw nor touched. By means of the one he believed the other undoubtingly."

Though he seems to have thought that the narrative admitted of another interpretation, when he says (Ibid., p. 612);

"*Reach hither thy finger and behold My hands*, what is this but, Touch and see?" (He has been saying that *see* is sometimes used generally for the perceptions of any of the senses) "and yet he had not eyes in his finger. He refers them both to seeing and to touching, when He says, *Because thou hast seen, thou hast believed.* ALTHOUGH IT MIGHT BE SAID, THAT THE DISCIPLE DID NOT DARE TO TOUCH, WHAT WAS OFFERED TO BE TOUCHED."

One or two modern writers may be quoted in favour of Thomas not having touched the risen Body;

"Thomas probably did not stay to make the offered examination; he felt conviction, and addressed Jesus, calling Him both his Lord and his God; his Lord who had been crucified, and who by His resurrection had shewn Himself to be God." (Macbride's Lectures on Diatessaron, p. 701.)

And Stier very strongly to the same effect; (Words of Jesus, vol. viii. pp. 189, 190.)

"Did Thomas actually thrust his finger into the print of the nails, and his hand into His side? If the Lord *commanded* it, he must of course have obeyed. Pfenninger (in this agreeing with Nonnus) represents the matter as if the Lord, while He was speaking, took the finger and hand of the

out, *My Lord and my God.* Thomas's slowness of heart, therefore, profiteth the Church more than the woman's readiness to believe. She saw and believed, and furthered thereby her own salvation. But Thomas doubted and handled [the Word of life], and by the touch of

See St. John xx. 27, 28.

amazed Thomas, and placed them upon the wounds. . . . We confidently maintain that the word of Jesus was *not* properly a *command;* for that would have been far too harsh a condemnation, pressing to its utmost consequences his foolish word. In its tone and meaning it was merely a permission; *Thou mayest* do so,—if thou still wilt,—See, I am ready! For our own part, we regard an actual touching and handling as altogether irreconcileable with the feeling which changed the unbeliever into a believer, and cried, My Lord and my God. We say with Tholuck, 'At this point, when the test was in his power, all test and proof is forgotten, and the might of faith maintains its right. What needs he to lay hold with his hands? his heart feels it all!' And with Dräseke, 'What does he now? Nothing of all that which he had himself specified as a condition. He believes; his faith came to his aid on the spot. His heart overcomes his reasoning; therefore he uses not his hand and his fingers.'"

Maldonatus in loc. (vol. v. pp. 563, 564) takes decidedly the Patristic view, which he avers to be supported by Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, and Bernard, among the Latins, and by Chrysostom, Cyril, and Theophylact, &c., among the Greeks. He adopts Augustine's explanation of the word "to see," as denoting the perception of any of the senses, and thinks that, "Thomas, because thou hast seen Me," is exactly equivalent to, "Thomas, because thou hast touched Me;" and deems it not improbable that Christ, even though Thomas may have been ready to believe without touching, wished him to touch, so that every remaining fibre of unbelief in his heart might be eradicated.

The arguments *for* St. Thomas having touched the Risen Saviour are, 1st. that his Master bids, or at least invites him to do so; 2nd. that the incident was ordered in God's Providence for the more confirmation of the faith of the Church, and that this faith would naturally be more confirmed by the experiment of touch being made, than by a mere manifestation to the eye; 3rd. that if St. Thomas explained to himself the recorded experiences of the other Apostles by supposing that they had only seen an unsubstantial vision (as seems probable), seeing the Saviour would hardly have satisfied him.—The arguments *against* his having touched are, 1st. that it is never said he did so; 2nd. that our Lord says to him, "Because thou hast *seen* Me, thou hast believed" (and observe how St. John discriminates the perceptions of the two senses, where he says, *that which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of Life.* 1 John i. 1); 3rd. the argument from the probable feeling of the Apostle, set forth so powerfully by Stier above. The reader must decide for himself.

a creditorum mentibus fidelium abrasit. Predicate evangelium omni creature. Autonomasice[i] omnis creatura nuncupatur homo. quoniam omnem creaturam excellit homo. et propter hominem. omnis creata est creatura. Et præsit inquit spiritus

[g] "by the touch of the body wiped off from the minds of the faithful all stain of unbelief."

The Fathers are much impressed with the thought that "the more confirmation of the Faith" was the great reason of St. Thomas's incredulity having been permitted. Thus Gregory (Lib. of Fathers, Catena Aurea, vol. iv. St. John, Part ii. pp. 608, 609);

"It was not an accident that that particular disciple was not present. The Divine Mercy ordained that a doubting disciple should, *by feeling in his Master the wounds of the flesh*, heal in us the wounds of unbelief. The unbelief of Thomas is more profitable to our faith than the belief of the other disciples, *the touch, by which he is brought to believe*, confirming our minds in belief, beyond all question."

[h] *creditorum fidelium. Creditor* in classical Latin is hardly ever, if at all, used in the sense of "a believer," which it must have here. It there means a creditor, or person who lends money. Du Cange gives an instance in the mediæval Latin, in which it means "one entrusted with an administration or management by another." (Du Cange, *sub voce.*) The word is unknown to the Vulgate.

[i] "autonomasicè." See on this word, and Herbert's uses of it, pp. 45, 46, note i.

[k] "since man excelleth every creature, and on man's account was every creature created."

Gregory adds another reason, that man is a little microcosm, and has in him an element of all the creatures. (Catena Aurea, in Lib. of Fathers, vol. ii. St. Mark, p. 345);

"Every man must be understood by every creature; for man partakes something of every creature; he has existence as have stones, life as trees, feeling as animals, understanding as have angels. For the Gospel is preached to every creature, because he is taught by it, for whose sake all are created, whom all things are in some way like, and from whom therefore they are not alien.—By the name of *every creature* also every nation of the Gentiles may be meant. For it had been said before, *Go not into the way of the Gentiles.* But now it is said, *Preach the Gospel to every creature.*"

Lightfoot in an interesting note (Hor. Heb. *in loc.*, Opp., tom. ii. p. 468) says that the Hebrew words corresponding to πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις were a phrase familiarly used by the Jews to denote all mankind, and especially the Gentiles, as opposed to the Jews. Thus Bereshith Rabba, sec. 13, "The speech of *all the creatures* is only respecting earthly things; and all the prayers *of the creatures* are for earthly things; Lord, may the earth be

the body wiped[g] off from the minds of faithful believers[h] all stain of unbelief.

Preach the Gospel to every creature.. Where every creature is a figure which signifieth man, since man excelleth every creature, and on man's account was every creature created[i]. And *let man have dominion,* St. Mark xvi. 15. Gen. i. 26, 28.

fertile : may it be blessed in its produce, &c. &c. But all the prayers of *Israelites* are only for the holy place ; Lord, let the temple be built," &c.

St. Paul twice uses the expression πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις; once in Col. i. 23, "the Gospel which was preached to every creature which is under heaven," where it seems exactly equivalent to the "all nations" (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) whom our Lord commissions His Apostles to make disciples of (St. Matt. xxviii. 19). The other is the famous place from the eighth of Romans (viii. 22) respecting "the whole creation groaning and travailing together in pain until now." Lightfoot supposes the Gentile world to be meant here also, who in a certain sense longed for Christ, "the Desire of all nations," but, until He came, walked in the *vanity* of their minds, and were *subject* to the *corruption* of lust and idolatry, yearning however (as did also the Jews) for the *redemption* of the whole mystical *body* of God's people, of which the Gentiles should form the largest ingredient.

With deference however to this great authority, we should doubt whether the "every creature" of the Romans is the "every creature" of St. Mark's Gospel and of the Colossians. We should rather (with Dean Alford, whose note should be referred to) take the "every creature" of the Romans to be "all animate and inanimate nature as distinguished from mankind," believing that the earth, which was a partaker with man of God's curse (see Gen. iii. 17, 18), and whose curse was borne for it, when the Second Adam wore the crown of thorns (St. John xix. 5), shall be redeemed ultimately, "in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory" (St. Matt. xix. 28), from the effects of the Fall ; and then possibly those words of the Prophet shall be literally fulfilled ; "Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle-tree" (Isaiah lv. 13). See the exquisite hymn of Keble on the Fourth Sunday after Trinity ;

"It was not then a poet's dream,
An idle vaunt of song,
Such as beneath the moon's soft gleam
On vacant fancies throng ;

"Which bids us see in heaven and earth,
In all fair things around,
Strong yearnings for a blest new birth,
With sinless glories crown'd ;

"Which bids us hear, at each sweet pause
From care, and want, and toil,
When dewy eve her curtain draws
Over the day's turmoil,

sanctus homo piscibus maris et volatilibus celi. et
fol. 229. omni animanti quod movetur super terram. * Et propheta. Quis est homo quod memor es eius. aut filius hominis quoniam visitas eum? Minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis. gloria et honore coronasti eum. et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum. Parvipendis humane nature excellentiam? Sed filius dei factus est homo. hodiernaque die supra omnem celsitudinem celorum elevatus est deus homo. Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit. salvus erit. Attende coniuncta christiane inchoationis sacramenta. Credis? baptizare. Baptizans (*sic*)? crede. Alterum sine

" In the low chant of wakeful birds,
In the deep weltering flood,
In whispering leaves, these solemn words,
'God made us all for good.'"

[1] By attributing these words to the Holy Spirit, which one would rather have attributed to God the Father (who seems to address the two other Persons in ver. 26, "God said, Let us make man in our own image"), Herbert may merely mean to recognise a general presidency of the Holy Spirit over the works of Creation, referring to ver. 2, "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," ("He with mighty wings outspread, Dove-like, sat brooding o'er the vast abyss, And made it pregnant"); or perhaps he means nothing more than to recognise the inspiration of Holy Scripture.

[m] The eighth Psalm is, among ourselves in the Church of England, the first of those appointed to be used on Ascension Day. It is also the first Psalm appointed for that Festival in the Roman Breviary. (Husenbeth's Breviary, Pars Verna, p. 381.)

[n] Christ is said (Eph. iv. 10) to have "ascended up *far above all the heavens*" (ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν), "that He might fill all things," to have been set "at" God's "own right hand in the heavenly places, *far above* all principality" (ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς), (Eph. i. 21), and to have been "made *higher than the heavens*" (ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν), (Heb. vii. 26). We are also told that He "is gone into heaven, and is *on the right hand of God; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto Him.*" 1 Pet. iii. 22.

Bengel (on the first of these texts) says, with his usual pithiness and pertinence, "Christ ascended not only *into* heaven (St. Mark xvi. 19), but *through* the heavens" (διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς, Heb. iv. 14, Vulg. "qui penetravit cœlos," wrongly translated in our Authorized Version, "that is

saith the Holy[l] Spirit, *over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing which moveth on the face of the earth.* And the Prophet saith, *What is man that Thou art mindful*[m] *of him, and the Son of Man that Thou visitest him. Thou hast made Him a little lower than the angels; Thou hast crowned Him with glory and honour, and hast set Him over the works of Thy hands.* Dost thou value at a mean price the excellency of human nature? But the Son of God was made Man, and to-day the God-man was exalted above[n] the highest heaven. *He who believeth and is baptized shall be saved.* Observe here how closely joined together are the two first principles[o] of Christian life. Thou believest; be baptized. Thou art baptized; believe. The first, forsooth[p], without the second[q] availeth

See Gen. i. 2.

Ps. viii. 4—6.

See Eph. iv. 10, and i. 21, and 1 Pet. iii. 22.

St. Mark xvi. 16.

passed INTO the heavens,"—it should be, "that hath passed THROUGH the heavens," and is now "made *higher*" than them. Cp. ch. vii. 26.)

"Whatsoever heaven then is higher than all the rest which are called heavens; whatsoever sanctuary is holier than all which are called holies; whatsoever place is of greatest dignity in all those courts above, into that place did He ascend, where in the splendour of His Deity *He was before* He took upon Him our humanity." (Pearson on the Creed, Art. 6. vol. i. p. 456.)

The only-begotten Son was in the bosom of the Father before His Incarnation (see St. John i. 18). He re-ascended therefore to the Father's bosom, that being *where He was before* (see St. John vi. 62). Now God the Father has set His glory ABOVE the heavens (Ps. viii. 1),—"has crowned the Heavens with His Majesty—has set it above them as a crown" (Hengstenberg). Hence, in the magnificent vision of Rev. iv. 2—11, we read that "before the throne" of God "there was a sea of glass like unto crystal." The sea represents the firmament or heaven, *above* which God's throne is set.

[o] "the two first principles of Christian life joined together;"—*conjuncta Christianæ inchoationis Sacramenta.* See p. 23, note x: II. (b). 5.

[p] "forsooth"—*Puta.* *Puta* is only the second pers. sing. of the imperative of *puto*, 'to think or suppose.' It means, "Suppose such and such a case for the sake of illustration;" "for instance;" "for example." But *puta* having passed into an adverb, has its final *a* short, which distinguishes it from the imperative of the verb.

[q] "The one without the other availeth the baptized nothing"—*Alterum sine altero inutile initiatis.*" By the word *initiati* (Greek, μεμυημένοι) are meant in the first instance those who were admitted to a participation in the old heathen mysteries—religious ceremonies or sacrifices which took place at night or in secret, within some sanctuary which the uninitiated

altero. puta inutile initiatis. Signa autem eos qui crediderint[r] hec sequentur. In nomine meo demonia eicient. linguis loquentur novis. serpentes tollent. Et si mortiferum quid biberint. non eis nocebit. Super egros manus imponent. et bene habebunt. Fuerunt hæc karissimi fratres historialiter miracula temporibus apostolorum. quando doctrinis. et miraculis illuminandus fuerat mundus. sed conversis totius mundi regionibus ad fidem. modo necessaria non sunt. Quoniam quibus veritas patet. eis miraculorum choruscatio infructuosa. et superflua est. Fuerunt tamen. et præsentibus etatibus fideles. qui et easdem habuerint

were not allowed to enter. "It appears to have been the desire of all nations of antiquity to withhold certain parts of their religious worship from the eyes of the multitude, in order to render them more venerable." (Smith's Diction. of Antiquities). And because all the mysteries of the Christian religion, kept secret from Catechumens, were unveiled to the baptized, the baptized were therefore called in the early Church μεμυημένοι or *initiati*, "the initiated, that is, admitted to the use of the sacred offices, and to the knowledge of the sacred mysteries of the Christian Religion. Hence came that form of speaking, so frequently used by St. Chrysostom and other ancient writers, when they touched upon any doctrines or mysteries which the Catechumens understood not, ἴασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι, the initiated know what is spoken. St. Ambrose writes a book to these *initiati*." (Bingham, book i. ch. iv. sec. 1, 2, vol. i. p. 11.)

It is satisfactory to observe that Herbert reckons Baptism of no avail unless followed up by faith.

[r] "now they are no longer necessary."

So Gregory (Catena Aurea, Comment. on the Four Gospels, vol. ii. St. Mark, p. 346).

"Are we then without faith, because we cannot do these signs? Nay, but these things were necessary in the beginning of the Church; for the faith of believers was to be nourished by miracles, that it might increase. Thus we also, when we plant groves, pour water upon them, until we see that they have grown strong in the earth; but when once they have firmly fixed their roots, we leave off irrigating them."

[s] "There have been nevertheless, even in the present ages of the Church, believers who have had the same gifts."

Those who are interested in the question of the cessation of the miraculous gifts in the Church should read the very interesting and instructive

the baptized nothing. *But these signs shall follow them that believe; In My name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.* St. Mark xvi. 17, 18.

All these miracles came to pass in the letter, dearly beloved brethren, in the times of the Apostles, when the world was to be enlightened by their doctrines and miracles; but now they are no longer[r] necessary, when the countries of the whole world have been turned unto the Faith, since for those to whom the truth has been laid open, the bright shining of miracles were unfruitful and superfluous. There have been nevertheless, even in the present ages of the Church, believers[s] who have

Chapter in Professor Blunt's "Right Use of the Early Fathers" (Lecture vi. pp. 310—328). He shews that miraculous gifts are claimed as existing in their days by (1) Justin Martyr, A.D. 103—165; (2) Irenæus, A.D. 130(?)—195(?); (3) Papias, d. 163; (4) Theophilus,—second century; (5) Tertullian, A.D. 160—240; (6) Clemens Alexandrinus, A.D. 160(?)—220; (7) Minucius Felix, A.D. 230; (8) Origen, A.D. 186—254, and Cyprian, d. 258,—men of different temperaments and vocations, but all of them men of intelligence, and high cultivation, and undoubted lovers of truth. He next observes that "*the miraculous powers of exorcism and of healing diseases* are those which these Fathers are far the most unanimous, as well as the most peremptory, upon; that the speaking with tongues, prophesying, discerning of spirits, and above all, the raising the dead, are powers asserted by them indeed, but not near so universally or so determinately as the others" (p. 323). (Dreams and visions are the chief instances of miraculous interference recorded by the latest of them,—Cyprian.) He then shews that exorcism and healing are exactly the miraculous powers to which Holy Scripture itself gives most prominence, referring to St. Matt. x. 1; St. Mark iii. 13—15, vi. 13; St. Luke x. 9, 17; Acts v. 16, viii. 7, xix. 12, 13; and that instances of visions and dreams are also of frequent occurrence in the Acts of the Apostles. The Professor's conclusion is that he cannot coincide with the theory of Bishop Kaye, which is, that miraculous powers died out with those on whom the Apostles laid their hands. The testimony of Origen and Cyprian proves, as he considers, that these powers were exercised in the third century, though less frequently than they had been. The gifts of the Spirit were like a slowly-receding tide,—they retreated by degrees from the Church.

Schaff, who gives a most interesting classification of the Charisms or miraculous gifts according to the three primary faculties of the soul, (rank-

gratias. et consimilia perpetraverint mirabilia. Sicut martinus. nicholaus. benedictus. et multi

ing Tongues and Prophecy as gifts of *feeling;* the word of Wisdom and of Knowledge, the power of teaching and discerning spirits, as gifts of *knowledge;* and miracles, with the gift of Church government, and that of ministration, as gifts of *will,*) says as to their disappearance (vol. ii. 145);

"In these Charisms we must distinguish between the essence and the temporary form. The first is permanent; the second has disappeared, yet breaks out at times sporadically, though not with the same strength and purity as in the apostolic period. In the nature of the case, the Holy Ghost, when first entering into humanity, came with peculiar creative power, copiousness, and freshness; presented a striking contrast to the mass of the unchristian world; and by this very exhibition of what was extraordinary and miraculous exerted a mighty attraction upon the world, without which it could never have been conquered. Christianity, however, aims to incorporate herself in the life of humanity, enter into all its conditions and spheres of activity as the ruling principle, and thus to become the second, higher nature. As it raises the natural more and more into the sphere of the Spirit, so in this very process it makes the supernatural more and more natural. These are but two aspects of one and the same operation. Accordingly we find, that as fast as the reigning power of heathenism is broken, those charisms which exhibited most of the miraculous become less frequent, and after the fourth century almost entirely disappear. This is not owing to a fault of Christianity; for at that very time the Church produced some of her greatest teachers, her Athanasius and her Ambrose, her Chrysostom and her Augustine. It is rather a result of its victory over the world. Spiritual gifts, however, did not then fully and for ever disappear. For in times of great awakening and of the powerful descent of the Spirit, in the creative epochs of the Church, we now and then observe phenomena quite similar to those of the first century, along with the corresponding dangers and abuses, and even Satanic imitations and caricatures. These manifestations, then, gradually cease again, according to the law of the development of a new principle as just stated. Such facts of experience may serve to confirm and illustrate the phenomena of the *apostolic* age."

[1] "as Martin."

St. Martin was a native of the lower Hungary, born about A.D. 317, in the eleventh year of Constantine the Great. When only fifteen years old he was forced by an imperial edict into the military profession, though much against the grain. After five years' service, he obtained leave to retire, and ultimately chose a retreat near the walls of Milan, where he entered upon a monastic life. Auxentius, the Arian invader of the see of Milan, having driven him out of that diocese, he retired with a virtuous priest to a desert island on the coast of Liguria. Here he is said to have proved the truth of our Saviour's promise in St. Mark xvi. 18, by eating of a deadly thing, which did not hurt him.

"Here, while he lived in great abstinence, on roots and wild herbs, he happened unawares to eat a considerable quantity of hellebore, enough to have caused his death, if he had not been restored to his health, when

had the same gifts and have wrought the like marvellous things, as Martin [t], Nicholas [u], Benedict [x], and many

brought to the last extremity, by having recourse to prayer." (Alban Butler's Lives of Saints, vol. xi. p. 242.)

Soon after, he settled in a spot close to Poictiers (Lugugé), given him by St. Hilary, where he built the first monastery ever erected in Gaul, and having gained great fame by raising two dead persons to life (one of them a catechumen, who had died unbaptized), was chosen in 371, at the age of 54, third Bishop of Tours. Finding that the living in a cell close to his Cathedral subjected him to all sorts of interruptions, he retired to a monastery which he had built two miles from the city, at Marmoutier. Here he presided over a community of eighty monks, which under his government became quite a seminary for the Episcopate, while he at the same time carried on the administration of his diocese, and succeeded in extirpating idolatry from that part of France—not without mighty signs and wonders which convinced the pagans.

Some of his miracles of healing the sick and casting out devils are thus recorded :—

"At Treves he cured a maid who was sick of a palsy, and just ready to expire, by putting some oil that had been blessed into her mouth. He restored to health a slave who belonged to Tetradius, formerly proconsul, that was possessed with a devil. At Paris, as he entered the gate of the city, followed by a great crowd, he kissed a most loathsome leper, and gave him his blessing, and he was forthwith healed. Small threads of the clothes or hair-shirt of St. Martin often cured the sick, when applied to them." (p. 248.)

On another occasion, a woman at his intercession "received her dead raised to life again." At Chartres, while he was preaching to a multitude of idolaters, "a woman brought to him her only son, a child who was dead, and besought him, as the friend of God, to restore him to life. The saint, judging that this miracle might occasion the conversion of many, made his prayer, and, in the presence of all the people, restored the child alive to the mother, who was amazed and out of herself for joy. The people who had seen this miracle cried out aloud to heaven, ran to the saint, and cast themselves at his feet, beseeching him to make them catechumens, and prepare them for baptism." (Ibid.)

As to his method of performing miracles of exorcism, we read ;

"Many other miracles wrought by St. Martin are related by St. Sulpicius Severus, especially in casting out devils, whom he did not expel with threats and terrors, as other exorcists were accustomed to do ; but clothed in rough haircloth, and covered with ashes, he prostrated himself upon the ground, and, with the arms of holy prayer, subdued them, and forced them at length to yield. The same venerable author recounts several instances of revelations, visions, and the Spirit of Prophecy, with which the saint was favoured by God." (p. 249.)

St. Martin died of a fever which lasted some days, but insisted on being laid on no bed but ashes and haircloth. His last words were addressed to

alii fideles qui per fidem vicerunt regna. operati sunt iusticiam. adepti sunt repromissiones. Optu-

the devil, whom he observed standing near him: "What dost thou here, cruel beast? Thou shalt find nothing in me. Abraham's bosom is open to receive me." Saying these words he expired on the 8th of November, A.D. 397, in the eightieth year of his age, and the twenty-sixth of his episcopate. He had gone as a peacemaker to Cande, a parish of Touraine at the extremity of his diocese, and was returning after composing the dispute which had called him thither, when he was seized by the fever which terminated fatally.

"The cope of St. Martin used to be carried into battle, and kept in a tent where Mass was said; hence the origin of the term Capella, as applied to places for religious services other than Parish Churches." (But this etymology has been called in question.) "In process of time a blue banner, divided to represent St. Martin's cloak" (the cloak of which, before he was baptized, he had given half to a poor shivering man at Amiens), "was carried instead, until it in turn was eclipsed by the famous *Oriflamme*, or banner of St. Denys. 'Martinmas' is still one of the four Cross-quarter days, coinciding with the Roman Vinalia. There are no less than 160 churches dedicated to him in England alone, and he was still more popular in France." (Blunt's Annotated Book of Common Prayer, vol. i. p. [59]). "He is represented as a Roman soldier on horseback, dividing his cloak with his sword for a half-naked beggar who stands near him, and sometimes as a priest or bishop with a naked beggar at his feet." (Calendar of the Anglican Church, p. 135.)

The translation of St. Martin's relics to his Cathedral at Tours is celebrated on the fourth of July. It took place, A.D. 473.

St. Nicholas, a native of Patăra in Lycia, became Archbishop of Myra, the capital of that province, about A.D. 326. Alban Butler tells us that in this "exalted station he became famous by his extraordinary piety and zeal, and an incredible number of stupendous miracles,"—though he scarcely narrates any of these, with the exception of a very grotesque incident in connexion with him, which may be called miraculous—that, as an infant, he refused the breast on Wednesday and Friday. We extract a passage about him from the "Calendar of the Anglican Church." His day is December 6:—

"Many wonderful legends and miracles are related of him; we give those by which he is best known. He early succeeded to large riches, and gave nearly all away in charity; and in the city where he lived dwelt a nobleman, who had three daughters, and who became so reduced in circumstances, that the only means he had of keeping his daughters from starvation was by giving them up to a sinful course of life. Nicholas, hearing of this, went to the poor man's house secretly three nights in succession, and each time threw in at the window a purse of gold, and thus saved them from infamy. During a dreadful famine in his country, Nicholas went about from town to town visiting and consoling his flock; and upon one occasion he took up his abode with a man who was ac-

other of the faithful, *who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped* Heb. xi. 33—35.

customed, during the scarcity, to steal little children, and serve up their salted remains to his guests. He set this dish before St. Nicholas, who at once perceived the fraud, and charging his host with it, went to the tub where their mutilated remains were kept in brine, and by making the sign of the Cross over it, restored them to life. It is in accordance with these two legends that he is generally represented. He is in full episcopal costume, and has either three purses or three balls of gold in his hand, at his feet, or carried on a book; or he is standing before a tub, with his hand raised over it, in which are three naked children rising up with clasped hands. His connexion with sailors seems to have arisen from his having calmed the sea in a storm, when on a voyage to the Holy Land; and in this character he sometimes has an anchor, and a ship in the background. From the maritime position of England, he has always been very popular here, specially in seaport-towns. Three hundred and seventy-two churches are named in his *sole* honour, seven in the joint names of SS. Mary and Nicholas, and one in the names of SS. Nicholas and Swithun." (p. 148.)

But Dr. Neale admits ("Sermons for the Minor Festivals," p. 245, Sermon 42) that "St. Nicholas is a Saint, of whom we know scarcely anything *certain* but his name. That he was a Bishop in Asia, and that he did great wonders in the Name of CHRIST; this is all that is told of him." And accordingly the title of Dr. Neale's Sermon for St. Nicholas' Day (Dec. 6) is "Unknown Saints."

"The mediæval ceremonies connected with the 'Boy-bishop'" (of which a trace lingered among us at Eton, until the "Montem" was abolished) "began on St. Nicholas' Day, and lasted till Childermas or Holy Innocents' Day." (Blunt's Annotated Book of Common Prayer, vol. i. p. [61]).

We subjoin the record of two miracles of St. Nicholas, taken from an old English translation of the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (Folio xxix.);

"It is said in a chronicle that the blessed Nicholas was at the Council of Nicene. And on a day, as a ship with mariners was in perishing on the sea, they prayed and required devoutly Nicholas, servant of God, saying; 'If those things that we have heard of thee said be true, prove them now.' And anon a man appeared in likeness, and said; 'Lo, see ye me not? ye called me.' And then he began to help them in their exploit of the sea. And anon the tempest ceased. And when they were come to his church, they knew him. And yet they had never seen him. And then they thanked God and him of (for) their deliverance. And he bade them to attribute it to the mercy of God, and to their belief, and nothing to his merits.

"It was so on a time that all the province of St. Nicholas suffered great famine, in such wise that victuals failed. And then this holy man heard say that certain ships laden with wheat were arrived in the haven. And anon he went thither, and prayed the mariners that they would succour the perished, at the least with an hundred muyes of wheat of every ship. And they said, 'Father, we dare not: for it is meted and measured, and we must

raverunt ora leonum. extinxerunt impetum ignis. effugarunt aciem gladii. convaluerunt de infirmi-

give reckoning thereof in the garner of the emperor in Alexandria.' And the holy man said to them ; 'Do this that I have said to you, and I promise in the truth of God that it shall not be lessened nor minished when ye shall come to the garners.' And when they had delivered so much out of every ship, they came into Alexandria, and delivered the measure that they had received. And then they recounted the miracle to the ministers of the emperor, and worshipped and praised strongly God and his servant Nicholas. Then this holy man distributed the wheat to every man, after that he had need, in such wise that it sufficed for two years, not only for to sell, but also for to sow."

* St. Benedict, the founder of the great monastic order which takes its name from him, was born about A.D. 480, at Norcia in Umbria, and died at the great abbey of Monte Cassino (founded by himself some fourteen years before), in the year A.D. 543,—the sixty-third of his age. When a youth of fourteen or fifteen he quitted the public school at Rome to which he had been sent, and having travelled to a distance of forty miles from the city, took up his abode as a monastic recluse in a cavern amidst the mountains of Sublaqueum (Subiaco). When the fame of his sanctity transpired, he was invited by the monks of Vicovara (on a vacancy occurring in their abbey) to become their Abbot. He did so ; but his strictness disgusting them, they mixed poison with his wine, in order to destroy him. Benedict made the sign of the Cross over the glass, which immediately broke, as if a stone had fallen into it ; and this seems to have been the first exercise of his miraculous power. Returning to his cave at Sublaqueum, he founded twelve monasteries in that wild and desolate region. Three of them were situated on very precipitous rocks, from which the descent to the lake for the necessary supply of water was not only laborious, but difficult and dangerous. The monks suggested a change of place for the monasteries ; but Benedict with a single attendant climbed to the summit of one of the rocks, and there, after praying for a considerable time, placed three stones one upon another. The next day he bade the monks hollow out the rock under those stones ; and when this was done, the hollow place was immediately filled with water, which welled forth so abundantly that a copious stream, quite sufficient for the supply of the monasteries, descended to the valley beneath.—On another occasion, a monk (who had been a Goth) being engaged by Benedict's direction in clearing the brambles away from the margin of the lake, had an accident with the iron of his pruning-hook, which escaped from the handle and fell into the deep water. Benedict, taking the handle, held it in the water, whereon the knife rose to the surface, and inserted itself once more in the handle.—On a third occasion, a boy of his monastery having fallen into the lake while drawing water, and being carried out by the current, Benedict, far from shore, being supernaturally apprised of it in his cell, sent a favourite monk (Maurus) to run to the boy's deliverance. Maurus ran out, and when he arrived at the water, continued to run on the surface of it, till he reached the spot to

the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong,

which the boy had been carried. He seized him by the hair and returned, and was not conscious, till he regained the bank, that he had been running upon the water. On Benedict's declining any merit in the miracle, and attributing it to the instantaneous obedience of Maurus, the boy, who had been rescued from a watery grave, said that at the moment of his rescue he had seen the Abbot's mantle thrown over his head, and was under the impression that he had delivered him. These stories are taken from Gregory the Great's Life of St. Benedict, who says of the last incident; "Res mira, et post Petrum Apostolum inusitata."

For other of Benedict's miracles we quote Alban Butler (Lives of Saints, vol. iii. pp. 282—284, March 21).

"He seemed, like another Eliseus, endued by God with an extraordinary power, commanding all nature; and like the ancient prophets, foreseeing future events. He often raised the sinking courage of his monks, and baffled the various artifices of the devil with the sign of the cross, rendered the heaviest stone light in building his monastery by a short prayer, and, in the presence of a multitude of people, raised to life a novice who had been crushed by the fall of a wall at Mount Cassino. He foretold, with many tears, that this monastery should be profaned and destroyed: which happened forty years after, when the Lombards demolished it about the year 580. He added, that he had scarce been able to obtain of God that the inhabitants should be saved. It was strictly forbid by the rule of St. Benedict, for any monk to eat out of his monastery, unless he was at such a distance that he could not return home that day, and this rule, says St. Gregory, was inviolably observed. Indeed, nothing more dangerously engages monks in the commerce of the world; nothing more enervates in them the discipline of abstinence and mortification, than for them to eat and drink with seculars abroad. St. Gregory tells us, that St. Bennet knew by revelation the fault of one of his monks who had accepted of an invitation to take some refreshment when he was abroad on business. A messenger who brought the Saint a present of two bottles of wine, and had hid one of them, was put in mind by him to beware drinking of the other, in which he afterward found a serpent. One of the monks, after preaching to the nuns, had accepted of some handkerchiefs from them, which he hid in his bosom; but the Saint, upon his return, reproved him for his secret sin against the rule of holy poverty. A novice, standing before him, was tempted with thoughts of pride on account of his birth: the Saint discovered what passed in his soul, and bid him make the sign of the cross on his breast.

"When Belisarius, the emperor's general, was recalled to Constantinople, Totila, the Arian king of the Goths, invaded and plundered Italy. Having heard wonders of the sanctity of St. Bennet, and of his predictions and miracles, he resolved to try whether he was really that wonderful man which he was reported to be. Therefore, as he marched through Campania, in 542, he sent the man of God word, that he would pay him a visit.

tate. fortes facti sunt in bello. Castra verterunt exterorum. acceperunt de resurrectione mortuos suos. Et ne de vestrorum prælatorum[y] auctoritate vestra hesitet pusillanimitas. consimilia hodie spiritualiter. in sancta ecclesia cognoscite fieri miracula. eo excellentiora antiquis. quanto spiritus corporibus gloriosius præstat. Hodie nostri exorciste ab inerguminis effugant demones. lingua-

f. 229, col. 2.

But instead of going in person, he dressed one of his courtiers, named Riggo, in his royal purple robes, and sent him to the monastery, attended by the three principal lords of his court, and a numerous train of pages. St. Bennet, who was then sitting, saw him coming to his cell, and cried out to him at some distance, 'Put off, my son, those robes which you wear, and which belong not to you.' The mock king, being struck with a panic for having attempted to impose upon the man of God, fell prostrate at his feet, together with all his attendants. The Saint, coming up, raised him with his hand; and the officer, returning to his master, related trembling what had befallen him. The king then went himself, but was no sooner come into the presence of the holy abbot, but he threw himself on the ground and continued prostrate till the Saint, going to him, obliged him to rise. The holy man severely reproved him for the outrages he had committed, and said, 'You do a great deal of mischief, and I foresee you will do more. You will take Rome; you will cross the sea, and will reign nine years longer; but death will overtake you in the tenth, when you shall be arraigned before a just God to give an account of your conduct.' All which came to pass as Saint Benedict had foretold him. Totila was seized with fear, and recommended himself to his prayers."

Benedict is also said to have "escaped the violence of fire."

"St. Gregory tells us that the Goths set fire to his cell, which burned around him without doing the least hurt to him. They then threw him into a hot oven, closely stopping it up, and coming the next day they found him safe, neither his flesh scorched, nor his clothes singed."

The emblems of St. Benedict in Mediæval art have reference to the story (given above) of his detecting a poisoned draught, or to that of his detecting a poisoned loaf sent him by Florentius. The Saint ordered a tame raven to fly away with the loaf and place it out of reach of man. The emblems accordingly are a loaf broken, with a serpent crawling out of it, or a loaf in the mouth of a raven, or a cup (broken or whole) with a snake crawling out of it.

[y] *de vestrorum prælatorum*—"those who are over you in the Lord."

The word *prælatus* in Classical Latin signifies simply "one who is preferred to another." Thus in Ovid (Met. viii. 1), Scylla says to Minos, for whose sake she had cut off her father's purple lock, "O patriæ prælate meæ, prælate parenti." In the later Latin, it came to mean one set over others, whether as a secular magistrate or in things spiritual. Bishops

waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens. Women received their dead raised to life again.

And lest you in the weakness of your faith should be doubtful of the authority of those who are over you in the Lord, know ye that the like miracles are even to-day wrought in the Holy Church after a spiritual manner, which are so much the more excellent than those early miracles, as the spirit is more excellent and glorious than the body. To-day our exorcists drive out[z] devils from the possessed[a]; our doctors preach

were so called, also Abbots, and Priors, and the four dignitaries of the Cathedrals of the Old Foundation. Dean Hook intimates that the limitation of the word to Bishops is quite of recent origin (Church Diction., sub. voc., p. 604). "A Prelate is an ecclesiastic having jurisdiction over other ecclesiastics. The title, though applicable to Bishops, is not confined to their order. Before the Reformation, Abbots were styled prelates. Archdeacons are prelates in this sense of the word." The word corresponding to it in Greek is προϊστάμενος, προεστὼς, which is used by St. Paul of a ruler in the family, 1 Tim. iii. 4, 5, 12; of the presbyter-bishops who were rulers in the early Church, 1 Tim. v. 17, with 1 Tim. iii. 2, 4, 5; of ministers in charge of a flock, τοὺς προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ, 1 Thess. v. 12, (where Bp. Ellicott well points out the double character of the early ministerial labourer as a ruler and teacher; they "which labour among you" (ministerially), are they "which are over you in the Lord," in one aspect, and, in another "they which admonish you"), and generally of persons in a position of rule and authority, who must shew diligence and industry (Rom. xii. 8) in their vocation.

[z] "To-day our exorcists drive out devils from the possessed," &c.—*Hodie nostri exorcistæ ab inerguminis effugant dæmones.*

Gregory says, in the same line of thought, (Commentary on the Gospels, from the Fathers. St. Mark, vol. ii. p. 346);

"For Holy Church does every day in spirit what then the Apostles did in body; for when her priests by the grace of exorcism lay their hands on believers, and forbid the evil spirits to dwell in their minds, what do they but cast out devils? And the faithful who have left earthly words, and whose tongues sound forth the holy mysteries, speak a new language: they who by their good warnings take away evil from the hearts of others, take up serpents; and when they are hearing words of pestilent persuasion, without being at all drawn aside to evil doing, they drink a deadly thing, but it will never hurt them: whenever they see their neighbours growing weak in good works, and by their good example strengthen their life, they lay their hands on the sick, that they may recover. And all these miracles are greater in proportion as they are spiritual, and by them souls and not bodies are raised."

[a] "the possessed"—*ab inerguminis.*

The *energumens* of the early Church were persons possessed, or supposed

rum omnium diversitate veritatem nostri prædicant doctores. et serpentinarum suggestionum ignita

to be possessed, with devils. Like the penitents, they were considered as in the same rank with catechumens, and were subjected to the same treatment and discipline. The word in its largest signification denotes those who are under the operation of any spirit, good or bad, but was generally restricted to the case of demoniacal possession, the unhappy victims of that malady being also called δαιμονιζόμενοι (the Scriptural term), κατεχόμενοι (the possessed), and χειμαζόμενοι (the tempest tossed), this last denomination corresponding to St. Luke's ὀχλούμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, St. Luke vi. 18. The two latter words indicate forcibly the restlessness characteristic of evil spirits (Job i. 7, and ii. 2; 1 Pet. v. 8; St. Matt. xii. 43—45), and with which they inspire their victims. To meet the case of these unhappy persons, the order of exorcists was instituted about the end of the third century (this being the third of the inferior orders, which were Sub-deacons, Acolytes, Exorcists, Readers, and Porters), whose business it was to lay hands on the energumens daily, with the recital of certain religious forms, to keep them employed in sweeping the Church-floor and other humble occupations, and to furnish them with necessary food at their post in the Church. The exorcists were ordained by the simple delivery of a book to them on the part of the Bishop, in which were contained the forms of exorcism, while he said, "Receive thou these, and commit them to memory, and have thou power to lay hands upon the energumens, whether they be baptized, or only catechumens." The place occupied by the energumeni in the Church was in the atrium or square between the porch and the church, a space surrounded by the cloisters, and in the midst of which was a fountain.

The duties of the Exorcist in the modern Roman Church are thus described in the Bishop's address to him at his Ordination;

"You who are to be ordained, well-beloved son, to the office of an Exorcist ought to know what you are undertaking. It behoves the Exorcist to cast out devils, and to bid the people that he who does not communicate should withdraw, and to pour water in the ministry [of the Altar]. You receive the power then of laying hands upon energumens; and by the imposition of your hands foul spirits are expelled from bodies possessed with them, through the grace of the Holy Ghost and the words of exorcism. Study then, as thou expellest devils from the bodies of others, so to cast out all uncleanness and wickedness from thine own soul and body, lest you should fall a victim to him, whom by thy ministry thou puttest to flight from others. Learn from your office how to control vices in yourself, lest in your character and conversation the enemy should claim something as belonging to himself. For then will you rightly command the devils in others, when you shall first overcome all manner of wickedness in yourself; which the Lord grant you to do through His Holy Spirit."

the truth in every different tongue, and our confessors[b] dispel the fiery darts of devilish motions. We drink

The final prayer on the occasion runs thus;

"Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Eternal God, be pleased to bless this Thy servant unto the office of an Exorcist, that by the imposition of his hands and the ministry of his mouth he may have power and authority to restrain unclean spirits, so that he may be an approved physician of Thy Church, confirmed with the gift of healings and with heavenly virtue. Through our Lord Jesus Christ Thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God for ever and ever."

There was also in the early Church a form of exorcism in connexion with Baptism, which was retained in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., where it appears in these words;

"*Then let the Priest, looking upon the children, say*,

"I command thee, unclean spirit, in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out, and depart from these infants, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call to His holy Baptism, to be made members of His body, and of His holy congregation. Therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy sentence, remember thy judgement, remember the day to be at hand wherein thou shalt burn in fire everlasting, prepared for thee and thy Angels. And presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny towards these infants, whom Christ hath bought with His precious blood, and by this His holy Baptism calleth to be of His flock."

Here we see the Priest exercising the functions of an exorcist, one of the Inferior Orders. For that the Baptismal exorcism was the function of an exorcist we find from Hugo de St. Victore. (Opp., tom. iii. col. 400, cap. 35.)

"Exorcists are, as it were, persons who adjure others. These were wont to adjure devils by certain incantations which Solomon is said to have composed, and to cast them out from bodies possessed by them. But among ourselves Exorcists, by virtue of their office, exorcise those who are to be admitted as Catechumens, and cast out devils, *or interdict them from entering the bodies of Infants.*"

[See Bingham, book I. ch. iii. sect. 5; book III. ch. iv. sect. 4—8: and vol. i. p. 288, and book VIII. chap. iv. sect. 3; Pontificale Romanum, pp. 762—764; Liturgies of K. Edward VI., pp. 108, 109.]

[b] "our confessors"—*confessores nostri.*

The word Confessor has several meanings in the ecclesiastical Latin;

(1.) It means sometimes a martyr,—one who confessed Christ by undergoing death for His sake. (2.) A Confessor strictly so called, that is, one who suffered something short of death for Christ's sake at the hand of heathen persecutors. The distinction is drawn in the following lines from the life of St. Eusebia: "Omnis Martyr Confessor: non sic quoque Martyr Omnis Confessor." These two meanings no doubt have their origin in the words of Christ, "Whosoever shall confess Me before men," &c. (St. Matt. x. 32). (3.) A Lay Clerk, Vicar Choral, or inferior Minister of the Church, whose function is to "confess" God in Psalms, Hymns, and spiritual

iacula? nostri submovent confessores. Mortiferos potus bibimus. et non morimur? quum in medio nationum pravarum et perversarum commorans claritas nostri officii non obscuratur? Super egros manus imponimus et bene habent. cum impios de suis infidelitatibus revocamus ad fidem. et flagitiosos de suarum obscenitatum egritudine reformamus ad salutem. Et dominus quidem ihesus. postquam locutus est eis assumptus est in cœlum. et sedit a dextris dei. Id ipsum est quod lucas beatus evangelista refert. Et convescens præcepit eis ab ierosolimis ne discederent? sed expectarent promissionem patris sanctum videlicet spiritum. quo suos remuneraturus erat fideles. Et post pauca. Elevatis inquit manibus? ferebatur in cœlum. et nubes suscepit eum ab oculis eorum. Cumque intuerentur in celum euntem illum? ecce duo viri astiterunt iuxta illos in vestibus albis. qui et dixerunt. Viri galilei. quid statis aspicientes in cælum? Hic Ihesus qui assumptus est a vobis in cælum. sic veniet quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in celum. Elevatis manibus ferebatur in

Songs." This meaning also is Scriptural. See Heb. xiii. 15: *καρπὸν χειλέων ὁμολογούντων τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ*; and the LXX. passim. (4.) A Priest to whom confession is made, also called *Confessarius*. (5.) A monk,—one who makes a monastic Confession or Profession by way of expiating the sins of his past life. (6.) The word seems also to be used for one of the superior monks, who for age and learning and weight of character had a certain authority in a monastery. But in passages where such *seems* to be the meaning, the right reading may be "Consessor," one who is the Abbot's Assessor—sits in council with him.—*Here* the word must be used in meaning (4). (See Ducange, tom. ii. pp. 530, 531.)

[e] "and sat"—*et sedit.*

Herbert is here more accurate than the Vulgate,—having "*et sedit*," *καὶ ἐκάθισεν* (aor.), "and *took his seat* on the right hand of God." Whereas the Vulgate has the present tense, "et sedet," "and sitteth on the right hand."

deadly draughts and die not, when we dwell in the midst of wicked and perverse nations, and yet the glory of our office [as ministers of Christ] is nothing darkened. We lay hands upon the sick, and they recover,—when we call back the ungodly from their unbelief to the true Faith, and when we recover the wicked from the sickness of their filthy conversation unto spiritual health. *And the Lord Jesus, after He had spoken unto them, was taken up into Heaven, and sat*[c] *on the right hand of God.* And this is the very thing which the blessed Evangelist St. Luke tells us; *And eating*[d] *together with them, He commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father,* to wit, the Holy Spirit, wherewith He was about to recompense His faithful ones. And a few lines further down, *With uplifted hands,* saith he, *He was carried up into heaven, and a cloud received Him out of their sight. And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven as He went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel; which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven.* With uplifted hands He was carried up[e] into heaven, because He who made the

St. Mark xvi. 19.

Acts i. 4.

St. Luke xxiv. 50, 51, and Acts i. 9.

Acts i. 10, 11.

[d] "and eating together with them." This is the Vulgate rendering of the text, Acts i. 4. "Et *convescens*, præcepit eis ab Jerosolymis nè discederent," &c. But the word συναλίζομαι means, as in our Authorised Version, "assembling Himself together to them." Ἀλία is a popular assembly, meeting of the people, connected with the adjective ἁλής, meaning *thronged, crowded.* Hence the name of the supreme Court at Athens for the trial of political offences, was called Ἡλιαία (Heliæa),—originally nothing more than "*the* Assembly" (κατ' ἐξοχήν). Bengel, with his usual subtlety of discrimination, suggests that the word as used in Acts i. 4, is not intended to apply to the *ordinary* Post-Resurrection Appearances of Christ, which are denoted by the "being seen of them forty days" of the previous verse,—but only to the last and most solemn of these. He would render the word in Latin, *conventum agens,* "holding a solemn assembly with them," which certainly gives point to the expression.

[e] "He was carried up into heaven."

Elijah's assumption was nothing more than an assumption; Christ's was an ascension as well as an assumption. Elijah did not say, as Christ did,

cœlum. quia non indigebat curru igneo. qui ipsum fecerat ignem et omnibus dominabatur elementis. Nubes ipsa est obscuritas ignorantiæ apostolorum[f]? qua incerti fluctuabant. sancto spiritu necdum illuminati. Duo viri in vestibus albis. duo sunt testamenta concordantia in candore dominicæ resurrectionis. quæ infatigabiliter clamant. et dominum descendisse in carnem propter redimendos peccatores. et iterum rediturum in eadem carne propter iudicandos vivos et mortuos. His (*sic*) finis et eo fine dominicæ incarnationis. passionis
f. 229, b. resurrectionis.* ascensionis. iudicati. et iudicantis occulta sacramenta. coram omnibus mortalibus

"I ascend," but, "I am taken from thee." (See St. John xx. 17, with 2 Kings ii. 9, 10.)

"There are three bodily inhabitants of heaven, Enoch, Elijah, and our Saviour Christ: the first, before the Law; the second, under the Law; the third, under the Gospel: all three in a several form of translation. Our Blessed Saviour raised Himself to and above the heavens, by His own immediate power; He ascended as the Son; they, as servants: He, as God; they, as creatures." (Hall's Contemplations, vol. ii. p. 85. Book xix. Cont. v.)

And Theophylact (Comment. on Four Gospels, St. Luke, part ii. p. 793); "And Elias indeed was seen, as it were, to be taken up into heaven, but the Saviour, the Forerunner of all, Himself ascended into heaven, to appear in the divine sight in His Sacred Body."

Our Lord's Ascension was beautifully foreshadowed by the ascension of Manoah's Angel. This was doubtless the Jehovah-Angel (or Second Person of the Blessed Trinity before his Incarnation) for His Name is called "Secret" or "Wonderful," and He "did wondrously." Judges xiii. 18, and marg. 19. (Comp. Isa. ix. 6, "Unto us a Child is born . . . . and His Name shall be called Wonderful;" and Rev. xix. 11, 12, where the Faithful and True One has "a name written, which no man knew but He Himself.") "The Angel of the Lord ascended in the flame of the altar" (Judg. xiii. 20); and so the Messenger of the Covenant, having offered the sin-offering of an expiatory death and the burnt-offering of an holy and acceptable life, ascended to the Father, "an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour" (Eph. v. 2). Herbert's phraseology here, though making no allusion to Manoah's sacrifice, reminds us of that glorious type.

[f] "By the cloud is signified the darkness of the Apostles' ignorance." But might not the cloud even more appropriately signify an ignorance

fire itself, needed not a chariot of fire, and was the Lord of all the elements. By the cloud is signified the darkness[f] of the Apostles' ignorance, who, being not yet enlightened with the Holy Ghost, were in doubt and wavered. The two men in white garments are the two Testaments, which agree together in [their witness to] the brightness of the Lord's Resurrection, and which cease not from proclaiming both that the Lord descended into the flesh for the sake of redeeming sinners, and will again return in the same flesh, that He may judge the quick and the dead. This will be the end; and in that end the hidden mysteries[g] of the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of the Judged and Judging[h] [Saviour], will be most evidently revealed

which was NOT to be removed even by the Holy Ghost, and which the Apostles ought to have acquiesced in? See a noble passage in the Rev. J. H. Smith's Sermons—discourses of a calibre not usually attained—on the incident of the cloud, (vol. ii. p. 115);

"There is a period where vision ends, and where speculation is forbidden. There is, in all the revelations of God, a limit, beyond which the human understanding cannot pass, and where faith alone can penetrate. There are doctrines discovered to the apprehension of our faith, which are veiled from the scrutiny of our reason: and for us to attempt the comprehension of these mysteries, is to stand like the Apostles, gazing upon the cloud in which the ascending Saviour was hidden from their sight. . . . . Thus we are taught that God is reconciled to man by the death of His Son; and that the blood of Jesus cleanseth from all sin: but if we attempt to reconcile this grand doctrine of the Gospel with our notions of equity, and to enquire how the demands of justice can be satisfied by the substitution of the innocent for the guilty, we are gazing upon darkness, which we cannot pierce. . . . . Even as to the principles of God's moral government and the course of His Providence, we are equally at a loss. Difficulties insuperable oppose us wherever we turn. 'Verily, He is a God that judgeth in the earth,'—but His 'judgments are a great deep.' 'He hath made darkness His secret place.' 'He holdeth back the face of His throne, and spreadeth His cloud upon it.' Why stand we, then, gazing up into heaven? Why attempt, with our feeble intelligence, to penetrate the mysteries of the Divine perfections? Is it for the finite to comprehend the Infinite? Is it for man to pry into the secrets of the Almighty? Even the Seraphim cover their faces with their wings, unable to contemplate His glory; and is it for us, then, to stand *gazing* into Heaven?"

[g] "hidden mysteries"—*sacramenta*. See p. 24, note x, III. (4).

[h] *judicati et judicantis*—"of the Judged and Judging Saviour." The reference of the first word must be to our Lord's having been tried before

patentissime revelabuntur. Verumtamen fratres iam speculari libet maiori contemplatione præsentis solennitatis excellentiam. Alta fratres promitto. sed meorum peccatorum enormitate revocatus[h] meam infirmitatem intueri compellor. Etenim infra omnium fidelium pedes iacens. de divinis merito disputare secretis pertimesco. Verum fratres. vires quas mea peccata negant. vestra suffragia[j] supplebunt. et periciam discendi (*sic*) quam infirmitas excludit mea. sancti spiritus gratia subministrabit. Nostis igitur fratres mei. quomodo deus primum hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam fecit. quomodo in paradiso voluptatis collocavit. quomodo legem ei sancivit.

the Sanhedrim, when, on the question being formally put to them by the High-Priest, "they all condemned Him to be guilty of death" (St. Mark xiv. 64); and also to His being judged in the Roman Court, when "Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required" (St. Luke xxiii. 24).

[h] "recalled to myself by the exceeding greatness of my sins;" and again, "lying, as I do, beneath the feet of all the faithful."

This is one of the few passages in the Sermons of Herbert, which give us any insight into the preacher's experience. In connection with what is recorded of the simoniacal transactions which disgraced the early part of his Episcopate, this confession of unworthiness is extremely touching. It quite harmonises with what Malmesbury tells us as to the reality of his repentance, that he ever bore in mind Jerome's saying; "We have sinned in our youth, Let us amend in our old age," as well as with several passages in his Letters.

Witness Letter I., in which he declines to make a collection of his correspondence, and in answer to a pressing application to do so on the ground of the utility to the Church of such a publication, alleges that the writings of holy men through whom the Spirit speaks, and whose conversation is in heaven, may be very profitable; but that he is to be classed with sinners.

[j] "vestra *suffragia* supplebunt." It is curious and interesting to trace the meanings of this word. Its derivation is not known for certain. Wunder conjectures that it is connected with *suffrago*, a huckle-bone, the projecting bone of the hind leg of a quadruped, so called "quia crus ibi suffringitur," because there the line of the animal's leg is broken. Such huckle-bones being sometimes used at Rome, like pebbles, for legislative voting, a vote came to be called *suffragium*, a suffrage. Hence the word

before all mankind. But now, brethren, it seemeth good to me to consider with somewhat deeper study the excellency of the present Festival. These are lofty things, brethren, which I am undertaking; but recalled to myself by the exceeding greatness[i] of my sins, I am compelled to regard mine own infirmity. For lying, as I do, beneath the feet of all the faithful, I am justly afraid to discourse upon the secret things of God. But the strength which is denied to me by reason of my sins will be supplied to me, brethren, by your intercessions for me; and the grace of the Holy Ghost will minister that skilfulness of speech which my infirmity hindereth. Ye know then, my brethren, how God made the first man in His image and likeness; how He placed him in the paradise of pleasure[k]; how He established

See Gen. i. 26, 27.

See Gen. ii. 8.

came to mean a decision arrived at by vote, and particularly a favourable decision.

In the mediæval Latin it has several significations. (1.) Certain fees received by the Emperors, from persons on whom they conferred offices of honour and emolument. (2.) Any payment, as of tribute, ground-rent, &c. (3.) Relief, support, maintenance, sustentation. (4.) Assistance, succour. (Hence a Suffragan Bishop is one who renders *suffragium*—assistance or succour—to the Metropolitan.) (5.) A privilege, immunity, &c. (6.) Prayers in which the assistance or succour of the Saints is invoked—hence called *suffragia*, "assistances." (7.) Prayers for the dead, because in them the assistance of the Saints is specially invoked. The element common to all these meanings is something favourable or advantageous, in the shape of mere privilege, or gratuity, or help. Intercessory prayer is a help and advantage to those who are the objects of it,—"ye also helping together by prayer for us."

As to the meaning of the word in our own Book of Common Prayer, it is used (1.) of the petition inserted into the Litany on occasion of an Ordination or Consecration, which is called "the proper *Suffrage*" (see the Ordinal). (2.) Of the Versicles and Responds in the Daily Office between the Second Lord's Prayer and the First Collect, "The *Suffrages* next after the Creed shall stand thus" (Service for Queen's Accession). (3.) Of "the Litany and Suffrages," as the Litany is styled in the "Form and Manner of Making Deacons." By the "Suffrages" Wheatly understands the latter part of the Litany, which begins with the Lord's Prayer, and which is sometimes called "The Supplications," (chap. iv. sec. iv. p. 173). On the whole, it would seem as if the meaning of *Suffrages* in our Prayer-book were short, broken, and interlocutory petitions.

[k] "the paradise of pleasure"—*paradisus voluptatis*. Such is the Vul-

ex omni inquiens ligno quod est in paradiso comede. ex ligno autem scientie boni et mali ne comedas. In quacumque enim die ex eo comederis? morte morieris. Promulgata fuerat lex. sed satanas novo paradisi insidiabatur colono. Temptavit hominem sathanas. et vicit. et suo creatori inobedientem reddidit. Inde peccatum. inde peccati pena. et in omnem primi hominis posteritatem originalis animadversio. His igitur meritis excluditur prothoplastus de paradiso. terreni incolatus vagabundus exilio. diabolico subiciebatur principatur. Inde impietas et idolatria surrepit. Inde libido et humanorum morum corruptio subsecuta est. Sordebat mundus nidoribus. et spurciciis execrandorum sacrificiorum. et implebatur infernus[n] infidelium agminibus anima-

gate rendering of the words which our translators have represented in English by the term, "Garden of Eden." The earliest meaning of the Hebrew word עֵדֶן (ngē-den) is *pleasure* or *delight.* It is translated by the first of these words in Ps. xxxvi. 8, "thou shalt make them drink of the river of Thy *pleasures*;" and by the second in 2 Sam. i. 24, "Saul, who clothed you in scarlet, with other *delights.*" In the root עָדַן (ngā-dan) there inheres the idea of softness, flexibility, languor. In Nehemiah ix. 25, one of the conjugations of this verb is used to express the luxurious delight which comes from great prosperity and ease; "So they did eat, and were filled, and became fat, and *delighted themselves* (וַיִּתְעַדְּנוּ) in Thy great goodness." And in the Septuagint, Gen. ii. 15, the garden of Eden is called "the garden of luxury," *παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς.* Singularly enough, in verses 8 and 10 of the same chapter, Eden is a proper name, as in our own translation; *παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδὲμ, ποταμὸς ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδὲμ.*

[1] "the new tiller of Paradise." The word *colonus* properly means a tiller, from *colo*, "to cultivate," and is probably used in that sense here, Adam having been put "into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it" (Gen. ii. 15). But even in the Classical writers the notion (not inherent in the etymology) of *coming from a foreign place* to cultivate land (whence it comes to mean a *colonist*) clings to the word. And this is its only notion in the Vulgate of the Old Testament, where (in all the eight places of its occurrence) it is equivalent to *πάροικος*, and means merely *a sojourner*, one residing temporarily in a country not his own. In the

for him a statute, saying unto him, *Of every tree which is in the garden eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, eat not; for in what day soever thou shalt eat of it, thou shalt die the death.* The law had been proclaimed; but Satan was laying snares for the new tiller[l] of Paradise. Satan tempted man, and overcame him, and made him disobedient to his Creator. Hence came sin; hence the punishment of sin, and the first sentence of judgment upon all the posterity of the first man. For this sin, therefore, our first father was driven out of the Paradise of earthly[m] sojourn, was made to wander in banishment, was subjected to the power of the devil. Thence ungodliness and idolatry crept in. Thence followed lust and the corruption of men's manners. The world was polluted with the abominable savour and filthiness of idol-sacrifices, and hell was filled with troops of unbelieving souls. For so God

Gen. ii. 16, 17.

Vulgate of the New Testament the notion of *tiller* or *cultivator* makes its appearance, but it is the tiller or cultivator of another man's land, who is bound to make the landlord an acknowledgment,—the wicked husbandmen of our Lord's Parable being there called *coloni* (St. Mark xii. 1, &c.; St. Luke xx. 9). The *coloni* of the mediæval writers seem to have been tenants who cultivated the soil under the landlord, and who held a middle place between free men and serfs. (See Ducange, *sub voce.*) Adam being sent into God's garden to dress it and to keep it, is very accurately and appropriately called *colonus.*

[m] "The Paradise of earthly sojourn"—to distinguish it, doubtless, from the Paradise of heavenly rest, of which we gain a glimpse in our Lord's answer to the penitent thief (St. Luke xxiii. 43), in St. Paul's account of the visions with which he was favoured (2 Cor. xii. 4), and again in the glorious and precious promises made in the Apocalypse (Rev. ii. 7) to "him that overcometh." This Paradise was, according to Jewish theology, the intermediate place of the spirits of the blessed, where they enjoyed deep repose and communion with the Patriarchs. The *final* destiny of such spirits *after the resurrection* of the body is not to be thought of as a garden, but as a city, full of life and activity; "the heavenly Jerusalem." (See Rev. xxi. 2, 10.)

[n] "hell was filled"—*implebatur infernus.* By "infernus" is here clearly meant Gehenna, or the place of torment. But in the beginning of the Easter Day Sermon, it seems to mean "Hades," "the realm of death." He is speaking there of the signs and portents attending Christ's Resurrection, and he says (in reference, probably, to the many bodies of the Saints which slept coming out of their graves after the Resurrection, St. Matt. xxvii. 52, 53), "Inde *infernus* animas quas habebat, et *terra* reddit

rum. Sic enim iratus deus dixerat homini peccanti. Terra es et in terra ibis. et quia bono neglexisti obedire creatori. nequissimo subicieris insidiatori. Talia minabatur deus. et inter minas de reparatione generis humani æterno in consilio cogitabat. Venerat plenitudinis tempus. et suarum miserationum effluentiam retinere deus ulterius non iudicabat. Optimus est deus. et optimo reformatori. optima providenda erat reparatio.

f. 229 b, col. 2. Misit itaque deus verbum suum in carnem. et

corpora quæ fovebat," "Hence" (in honour of the Lord's resurrection) "the *realm of death* restores the souls which it was detaining, and the *earth* the bodies which it was cherishing." The word is used again further on in this Sermon, of the place to which our Lord's Soul was carried after its separation from the Body, often supposed by writers earlier than Horsley to have been the actual place of torment, but shewn by him not to have been so; "Immaculatum in cruce relinquitur corpus, et anima properat *ad infernum;* sed verbum Dei neutrum deserens cum utroque manebat." "His spotless Body is left upon the Cross, and his soul hasteneth unto *hell;* but the Word of God, abandoning neither of them, remained with both." Almost immediately after occurs the cognate word "inferi" (probably with a reference in the preacher's mind to our Lord's promise that "the gates of hell" (Hades) should not prevail against His Church, St. Matt. xvi. 18). "Holy Angels go before" [the ascending Saviour], "and the gates of hell are broken in pieces" (portæ *inferi* confringuntur); "the divine light breaks in, and the darkness of the caverns of death is enlightened."

As to the use of the word in the Latin Vulgate of the New Testament, in nine instances of its occurrence it represents the Greek Ἅιδης, in one θάνατος (death), Acts ii. 24, and in another ζόφος (darkness), 2 Pet. ii. 4. Our Lord Himself uses Ἅιδης in the Parable of the rich man and Lazarus, where we should certainly expect Him to have said "Gehenna." The fact is that these words, as they stand in Scripture, are used with a rich and full meaning which rather defies analysis. The thought of the realm of the dead, and of the gloom of the nether-world, carries with it irresistibly the idea of the eternal penalty of sin; death natural and death eternal have an affinity, which group them together in a mind imbued with religious ideas.

"The fulness of time had now arrived." Herbert, quoting from memory, has "the time of fulness,"—*plenitudinis tempus.* The Greek is, ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου; the Vulgate, "At ubi venit plenitudo temporis." "The time of fulness" might bear a good meaning; it would be the moment when the Gospel banquet was prepared and all things were now ready (St. Luke xiv. 17). But no doubt it is a mistake.

in His wrath had said to man when he sinned, *Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou go,* and because thou caredst not to obey the good Creator thou shalt be subjected to the most wicked plotter. Such things did God threaten, and yet amidst His threats was He taking thought in His eternal counsel for the recovering of the human race. *The fulness of time*[o] *had now arrived,* and God judged it good no longer to restrain the overflowing of His compassions. God is exceeding good; and by an exceeding good physician the remedy which is provided must be exceeding good. And so God sent His Word into the flesh, and the flesh of Christ into the wrestling-ground[p] of this world, and

Gen. iii. 19.

Gal. iv. 4.

[p] "into the wrestling-ground of this world"—*in hujus mundi harenam.*

The word *arena* is very expressive, and well chosen on Herbert's part. It is a term taken from the Roman amphitheatre, where the combats of gladiators with wild beasts and with one another were exhibited. The oval stage in the centre of these amphitheatres was called the *arena,* because it was covered with sand or sawdust to give a firm foothold to the combatants and absorb the blood. A wall with a parapet (called the *podium*) ran round the arena, from behind which parapet spectators of distinction viewed the games. Above this rose the seats (*gradus*) of the ordinary spectators (tier above tier), divided into blocks, and separated by horizontal landing-places (*præcinctiones*), which formed gangways round the building. The whole was covered by an awning (*velarium*) which was withdrawn or expanded according to the state of the weather.—Our Blessed Lord came down from Heaven, and was made Man, and below the vault of the firmament (the earth's *velarium*) encountered "the roaring lion who goeth about seeking whom he may devour." In the 22nd Psalm, which depicts His experience in His Passion, He is made to say (vers. 12, 13, 16, 20, 21), "Many bulls have compassed me: strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round. They gaped upon me with their mouths, as a ravening and a roaring lion. . . . For dogs have compassed me. . . . Deliver my soul from the sword: my darling from the power of the dog. Save me from the lion's mouth: for Thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns." This divine Gladiator triumphed, however, over principalities and powers by His Cross (Col. ii. 15), and led captivity captive, when He ascended up on high (Eph. iv. 8). And those who follow Him have also to wrestle "not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places" (Eph. vi. 12).—St. Paul draws an image from the Roman amphitheatre (if indeed it be an image, and if he does not mean that he himself was in intention, and as far as man's will was concerned, exposed to wild beasts) when he says, "If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus" (1 Cor. xv. 32).

carnem in huius mundi harenam. eamque exposuit virulento hosti temptandam. flagellandam. crucifigendam et mortificandam. Congressus cum verbo Dei sathanas. suggessit cibi aviditatem. prælationis ambitionem. inutilium actuum gloriam. sed deus reppulit insidiantem. respondit humilitatem. conservavit patientiam. Victus sathanas. et incarnate divinitatis humilitate collisus. venenate artis. præstigias[s] circa dominum inefficaces fore subintellexit. Inde invida pestis ad mortem cucurrit. et quem peccato inficere non poterat. vita exspoliare laborabat. At qui nullam fecerat culpam. nullam promerebatur mortem. Nec ullo obnoxius erat iudicio. qui nullo fuerat alligatus peccato. Non enim iudicium sed causa facit reum. Adiudicatur morti auctor vitæ.

[q] "the lust of empire"—*prælationis ambitionem;* literally, "the courting of supremacy." The word "prælatio" is used in the Easter Sermon of the supremacy of St. Peter; "Humiliatus est" (by his denial of Christ) "præferendus cæteris, ne *prælatio* arrogantiam, et arrogantía procrearet indignationem." The use of it here in another connexion may shew how strong the view taken by the writer of St. Peter's supremacy is,—that it is an actual empire over the Church, — the Roman, but surely not the Scriptural view.

[r] "the vainglory of useless exploits"—*inutilium actuum gloriam. Useless*, because our Lord might have descended from the pinnacle by the steps, and the miracle of dispensing with them could have done no good. We quote a passage from the Sermons of the Rev. Henry Burrows, B.D., illustrating both the vainglory to which our Lord was tempted, and the uselessness of the action suggested to Him (Parochial Sermons, Series ii. p. 28);

"The elation of spirit, which would naturally attend the change to such a scene from the wilderness, might easily make Him wish to spread, as it were, wings, and use the powers which such a body as His possessed: for now He was at Jerusalem for the first time since His inauguration as the Messiah. The loved and oft-desired City lay at His feet, ready to be taken possession of by the Son of David. The children He would fain gather, as a hen her chickens under her wings, were thronging the courts below: why not revel in the abundance of God's promises, and launch forth on the strength of angelic ministrations? The height was dizzy; the prospect

delivered up that flesh to the venomous enemy, to be tempted, to be scourged, to be crucified, and to be put to death. Satan drawing nigh to meet the Word of God [in battle], moved Him to appetite for food, to the lust[q] of empire, and to the vainglory[r] of useless exploits; but God withstood him when he worked wilily, answered him in lowliness of mind, maintained His patience of spirit. Satan was conquered, and being broken in pieces by the lowliness of the Godhead manifest in the flesh, began to suspect that the wiles of his venomous cunning would be of none effect against the Lord. Thence that pestilent spirit, moved with envy, ran to the contrivance of His death, and laboured to rob Him of life, whom he was not able to stain with sin. But because no fault was found in Him, He deserved no death. Nor was He exposed to any judgment, inasmuch He was not tied or bound with the chain of any sin. For it is not the judgment, but the cause which maketh a man guilty.

confusing; but Jesus replied, with calm composure and humble quietness, *It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.* The powers He possessed He would not put forth wantonly and idly, without need" (*inutiliter*) "or a call from God. None of His miracles afterwards were of this character; He refused to give men a sign from heaven; He wrought indeed some cures on men's bodies, but these were to relieve actual suffering, and served many moral ends, both at the time and afterwards. Speaking generally, all His life through He was abstinent in the matter of miracles. The Apocryphal Gospels indeed record many such displays of power, even in His Infancy, but such are not in harmony with His genuine character."

Dean Alford, however, remarks that the temptation of the pinnacle was not one of *ambition* (like that of the mountain) *but one of presumption.* But presumption and vainglory are very near of kin.

[q] "the wiles of his venomous cunning"—*venenatæ artis præstigias. Præstigiæ* means sleight of hand, legerdemain, jugglers' tricks. The derivation usually given is from *præstringo* (quasi *præstrigias*—the *r* being elided for euphony), because such tricks *bind fast* the eyes,—the eyes being unable to follow them. We are told of "the devices" of Satan (2 Cor. ii. 11); of his "wiles" (Eph. vi. 11); of his "blinding the minds of them which believe not" (2 Cor. iv. 4); of his "transforming himself into an angel of light" (2 Cor. xi. 14); of his "deceiving the whole world" (Rev. xii. 9). These are his "præstigiæ." Antichrist (his representative and perhaps his embodiment) shall come "with all deceivableness of unrighteousness" (2 Thess. ii. 10).

et innocens elevatur in crucem? quia suorum fidelium cruciatibus præparabat medicinam. Suæ militiæ peragit victoriam. et a deo iniunctam usque ad mortem. tranquillam exhibet obedientiam. Immaculatum in cruce relinquitur corpus. et anima properat ad infernum. sed verbum dei neutrum deserens? cum utroque manebat. Sancti præcedunt angeli. et porte inferi confringuntur. Lux

t "His body which was without spot"—*immaculatum corpus*, as having been "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." He is the "Agnus immaculatus et incontaminatus" of 1 Pet. i. 19.

u "anima properat ad infernum."

See above, p. 232, note n.

x "Holy angels go before, and the gates of Hell are broken in pieces."

"Epiphanius has a magnificent passage, in which he represents our Lord attended by an army of angels, Michael and Gabriel in the foreranks, demanding admission at hell-gate; bursting open the unwilling doors, tearing them from the hinges, casting them forth into the abyss, commanding that they shall never be raised any more." (Neale on the Psalms, vol. i. 289, 290).

What Dr. Neale thinks "magnificent," Calvin takes a very different view of. He says (on Ps. xxiv. 7, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates," &c., vol. i. p. 180), "From the genuine sense of these words it is abundantly evident how foolishly and vilely the Papists have abused the passage by applying it to those stupid and ridiculous fables, in which they introduce Christ penetrating into the realms of the dead."

y "The gates of hell are broken in pieces." Hell here clearly means the Limbus Patrum, that zone of the infernal regions which was supposed to be the abode of the Old Testament saints.

The views of the Scholastics on the subject of the infernal regions, during the period extending from 730 to 1517, are thus given by Hagenbach (History of Doctrines, vol. ii. § 208, p. 140);—

"Different departments (*receptacula*) were ascribed to Hell. These were, 1st, Hell, properly so called, where the devils and the damned are confined; 2dly, those subterranean regions which may be regarded as the intermediate states between Heaven and Hell, and which are again divided into (*a*) Purgatory, which lies nearest to Hell; (*b*) the Limbus Infantum (Puerorum), where all those children remain who die unbaptized; (*c*) the Limbus Patrum, the abode of the Old Testament saints, the place to which Christ went to preach redemption to the souls in prison. The Limbus last mentioned was also called Abraham's bosom. Different opinions obtain concerning its relation to Heaven and Hell." . . . . . .

"Thomas Aquinas (b. 1224, d. 1274) made a distinction between the state *prior* to the coming of Christ, and that *posterior* to His coming. His words are, 'Because before the coming of Christ the rest of the saints

The Author of Life is condemned to death, and the harmless one is lifted up on the cross, because He was preparing a remedy for the torments of His faithful ones. He perfects the victory of His warfare, and sheweth forth His calm obedience, even unto the death enjoined to Him by God. His body, which was without [t] spot or blemish, is left on the cross, and His soul hastens [u] to hell; but the Word of God, forsaking neither of them, abode with both. Holy angels [x] go before, and the gates of hell [y] are broken in pieces. A divine light

had some defect of rest conjoined with it, one and the same place then used to be called hell (*infernus*) and Abraham's bosom (*sinus Abrahæ*); for which reason there was no vision of God there. But because after the coming of Christ the rest of the saints was complete, since they have [now] the vision of God, such rest is called Abraham's Bosom [only], and in no wise hell. And unto this Bosom of Abraham the Church prayeth that the faithful may be brought.'" Compare the work entitled "Elucidarium." "'*Disciple.* In what Hell (*inferno*) were the righteous before the Advent of Christ? *Master.* In the higher; that is, in a certain place joined on to the lower Hell, in which they were able to see the other place, as those in the other place could see them. Those who were there, though exempt from punishment, seemed to themselves to be in Hell, since they were severed from the kingdom [of God]; but to those who were in the lower hell it seemed that those who were in the adjacent upper region were in the refreshments of Paradise; whence Dives requested Lazarus to drop a single drop of water on him. *D.* What was the punishment suffered by those who were in the upper Hell adjacent to the lower? *M.* A certain darkness only; whence it is written; *To those who dwell in the region of the shadow of death light is sprung up.* Certain of them, however, did undergo a certain punishment. So the Lord came to the upper Hell when He was born, that He might redeem the captives from the tyrant, as it is written; *Thou shalt say to those who are bound, Go forth, and to those who are in darkness, Lift yourselves up.* He means by the bound those who were undergoing some punishment, and by the others those who were in darkness, all of whom the King of Glory set free, and led unto glory.'" pp. 141, 142, note (6).

The *Elucidarium* has been ascribed to Anselm, who, as our readers know, was the contemporary of our author. The original meaning of the word *Limbus* is the hem or selvage of a garment, the strip at the bottom turned over and sewed down. Hence it came to signify a zone or belt; and thus came to mean one of the zones (conceived to be concentric) of the Infernal Regions.

Pearson (on the Creed, vol. i. p. 411), after a long and exhaustive argument on the subject of the "Limbus Patrum," concludes thus; "I conclude therefore that there is no certainty of truth in that proposition which the Schoolmen take for a matter of faith, that Christ delivered the souls of

divina ingreditur. et letalium tenebre cavernarum illuminantur. Ligatur sathanas insolubilibus nodis. et sanctorum vincula conteruntur. Absolvuntur

saints from that place of hell which they call *Limbus of the Fathers* into heaven; and for that purpose after His death descended into hell."

He observes that among the ancient Fathers, I. some supposed hell (*Hades* or *infernus*) to be the receptacle of the souls of all men, both those who died in the favour of God and those who died in their sins; while II. others (and among them no less a man than Augustine) thought that *Hades* or *infernus* was never taken in Scripture for any place of (even limited) happiness.

Among the maintainers of opinion I., some (1) thought that Christ descended to that department of Hades where the souls of the righteous (from Abel onward) were detained, "and there dissolving all the power by which they were detained below, translated them into a far more glorious place, and estated them in a condition far more happy in the heavens above." (This was "*the opinion generally received in the Schools, and delivered as the sense of the Church of God in all ages.*" He quotes Cyril, Ambrose, and Jerome, as in favour of it); while (2) others conceived that the souls of all men (good as well as bad) are detained in Hades still, and shall not enter Heaven until the general Resurrection. (Among the supporters of this opinion are Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Hilary; the latter of whom interprets the words of Psalm cxx., "The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in," of the righteous being kept securely in Abraham's Bosom, after "going out" of the body, until eventually they are introduced into God's heavenly kingdom, and thus "kept" also "in their coming in.")

Of those who maintained opinion II., some thought (1) that Christ, when He went to the place of punishment, released every soul He found there (this opinion was branded as heresy); others (2) that He released a large number, but not all (this was Augustine's view). "The opinion of St. Augustine is clear, that those which departed in the faith of Christ were before in happiness and the beatifical presence of God, and so *needed no translation by the Descent of Christ;* and of those which were kept in the pains of Hell, some were loosed and delivered from them, and some were not: and this was the proper end and effect of Christ's Descent into Hell." (On the Creed, vol. i. pp. 401—403; and vol. ii. 333—339).

The English word "Hell" is from the Saxon verb *helan*, "to cover over, or conceal." Hence also comes our word to *heal*, i.e. to *cover over* a wound, to cicatrize it. In Devonshire the country people retain the old Saxon verb. They speak of "helling over a grave," that is, covering it in; and of a thatcher as a "hellier."

The view of Christ's descent into Hell taken by our author is evidently in accordance with that of the Schoolmen I. (1). And this is the view still taken by the Church of Rome, in proof of which we quote one of Father Faber's Hymns, with many earnest regrets that so beautiful a book of poetry should be so disfigured with addresses to the Blessed Virgin, as contrary to good taste as they are to sound Theology:—

burstęth in, and the darkness of the deadly dungeons is enlightened. Satan is bound with bonds which cannot[z] be loosed, and the chains of the saints are broken

"THE DESCENT OF JESUS TO LIMBUS.

"Thousands of years had come and gone,
And slow the ages seemed to move
To those expectant souls that filled
That prison-house * of patient love.

"It was a weary watch of their's,
But onward still their hopes would press;
Captives they were, yet happy too,
In their contented weariness.

"As noiseless tides the ample depths
Of some capacious harbour fill,
So grew the calm of that dread place
Each day with increase swift and still.

"Sweet tidings there St. Joseph took;
The Saviour's work had then begun,
And of his three-and-thirty years
But three alone were left to run.

"And Eve like Joseph's shadow hung
About him wheresoe'er he went;
She lived on thoughts of Mary's Child,
Trembled with hope, and was content.

"But see! how hushed the crowd of souls!
Whence comes the light of upper day?
What glorious Form is this that finds
Thro' central Earth its ready way?

"'Tis God! 'tis Man! the living Soul
Of Jesus, beautiful and bright,
The Firstborn of created things,
Flushed with a pure resplendent light.

"'Twas Mary's Child! Eve saw Him come;
She flew from Joseph's haunted side,
And worshipped, first of all that crowd,
The Soul of Jesus crucified.

"So after four long thousand years,
Faith reached her end, and Hope her aim,
And from them, as they passed away,
Love lit her everlasting flame."

[z] "Satan is bound with bonds which cannot be loosed"—*ligatur Sathanas insolubilibus nodis.* One might suppose at first sight that the reference was to the Apocalyptic binding of Satan for a thousand years (Rev. xx.

* See the word *ergastulum* below.

sancti. et velut antiquo resurgentes de sompno? tetras illuminari tenebras nova luce admirantur. Agnoscunt dominum præsentem. quem multis etatibus expectaverant absentem. Hic est inquiunt patriarche imperator. quem præfiguravimus. Hic est inquiunt prophetæ redemptor. quem prædiximus. Hic est inquiunt sancti salvator quem expectabamus. Procumbunt. tantique visitatoris adorant adventum. Eaque hora ergastulum perditionis? efficitur dŏmus orationis. Collectis igitur electis. et omnibus amicis suis? tetra dominus egreditur conversatione. superasque
f. 230. emersus ad* auras. consociatos sibi fideles abluit. letalis et stigiæ conversationis inquinamento. Debellato igitur mundi principe. peccatique regno contrito? suorumque fidelium redempta captivitate. post triduum victoriosissimus imperator suum

1—3), which binding many of the Fathers (Augustine, Gregory, Bede, &c.), dated from our Lord's Incarnation, the thousand years being supposed to designate, not a literal time of that duration, but "the whole period during which the Church reigneth;" but as in that passage the Devil is said, at the expiration of the Millennium, to be loosed for a little season (*μετὰ ταῦτα δεῖ αὐτὸν λυθῆναι μικρὸν χρόνον*, Rev. xx. 3), Herbert, if he had had it in his mind, would hardly have spoken of *insolubilibus nodis*, "bonds which cannot be loosed." More probably he was thinking of the general power of Christ over the Devil, as set forth in that passage; "How can one enter into a strong man's house and spoil his goods, except he first *bind* the strong man? and then he will spoil his house" (St. Matt. xii. 29). (See Williams on the Apocalypse, pp. 410, 411, &c.)

* "This is the Prince, say the Patriarchs, whom we have shewn forth in figures." Adam, in his Sonship to God, in his occupation of Paradise, in the formation of Eve from his side while he was sleeping (as the Church drew her life from the death-sleep of Christ); Abel, as the innocent victim, sacrificed to the envy and malignity of the wicked; Enoch, as walking with God and taken to His glory; Noah, as building the ark, and being the head of a new race; Abraham, as the accepted intercessor for grievous sinners; Isaac, as surrendering himself to be sacrificed by his father, and as bearing the wood on which he himself was slain; Jacob, as a shepherd, subjected to cruel exposure for his sheep (see this type beautifully drawn

in sunder. The saints are set free, and rising, as it were, from their slumber of old times, wonder with great admiration that the noisome darkness is enlightened with a new light. They acknowledge the presence of that Lord, whom for many ages they had looked for when absent. This is the Prince, say the Patriarchs[a], whom we have shewn forth in figures. This is the Redeemer, say the Prophets, of whom we have testified beforehand. This is the Saviour, say the Saints, for whom we were waiting. They fall upon their faces, and adore the coming of so honourable a Visitor; and in that same hour the prison-house[b] of perdition is made the house of prayer. The elect, then, and all His friends being gathered round Him, the Lord comes forth from those noisome haunts, and rising again into the upper air, purges the faithful who had followed Him of the pollution of that deadly and devilish intercourse, and so having overcome the Prince of this world, and having broken in pieces the kingdom of sin, and having ransomed from captivity His faithful ones, this most victorious Prince returns after three days to His

out in *Newman's Parochial and Plain Sermons*, vol. viii. Serm. xvi. p. 239, "The Shepherd of our Souls"); Joseph, in his maltreatment by his brethren, his eventual supremacy over them, his rule as Pharaoh's vicegerent; Moses, as escaping a king's wrath in infancy, as the deliverer and legislator of his people; Joshua, as introducing the people into the land of promise, and heading the war against their enemies—all these and many others are instances of the Patriarchs shewing forth Christ in figures.

[b] "the prison-house" (*ergastulum*) "of perdition is made the house of prayer."

See the note on the word Ergastulum, p. 74, note b. It is there used of the cave or grotto in which the Virgin gave birth to Christ; here of Hades.

Perhaps there is a reference to Zech. ix. 12, "Turn you to the stronghold, ye prisoners of hope: even to-day do I declare that I will render double unto you"—a text which in its primary application is an exhortation to the exiled Jews in Egypt and in Greece (whose state is described figuratively as that of captives in a "pit where there is no water") to embrace the opportunity afforded them of returning to their own land and city; but which was formerly held to have an application also to the souls detained in the prison-house of Hades, who were released by the Blood of Christ's Covenant, having been "prisoners of hope" up to the time of his appearance among them. See Father Faber's Poem on "Christ in the Limbus," quoted above.

revertitur ad corpus. idque incorruptibilitate et inmortalitate vestiens sensibile. et palpabile. xl^ta^. post passionem suam diebus exhibet amicis? et suis fidelibus. Sed iam præsens fulgebat dies. et celestem erat dominus ascensurus ad civitatem. inmortalis parabatur triumphus. et captivitatis

c "An immortal triumph was prepared."

Christ's ascension into Heaven is here compared to the Roman *triumphus* (a word possibly connected with the Greek θρίαμβος, a joyous hymn to Bacchus, celebrating his conquests in the East), a procession of the victorious general into Rome in a chariot drawn by four horses, his captives and spoils preceding, and his troops following him. He was met at the *Porta Triumphalis* by the Senate, headed by the magistrates, who defiled before him into the city. As Herbert arranges the imagery, in its application to Christ's triumph, the captives who preceded the chariot were the souls released from Hades, the venerable company of the angels ("senatus angelorum") was the Senate who met Him. Carrying on the imagery a little more in detail the chariot would be the cloud which received the Lord out of the sight of His Apostles, Acts i. 9, and which may have been raised by the ministry of Angels; for "the chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of Angels." Our Book of Common Prayer connects the idea of a triumph with the Ascension in the Collect for the Sunday after Ascension; "O God, the King of glory, who hast exalted Thine only Son, Jesus Christ, *with great triumph* unto Thy kingdom in heaven;" (which is an expansion of the ancient Antiphon in the use of Sarum, the Antiphon, however, being addressed to the Son, while the Collect is addressed to the Father, "O Rex gloriæ, Domine virtutum, qui *triumphator* hodie super omnes cælos ascendisti.") And so many of the ancient hymns on the Ascension;

Perrumpis infernum Chaos,
Vinctis catenas detrahis:
Victor *triumpho nobili*
Ad dexteram Patris sedes.

The question is on what Scriptural authority such representations rest. Chiefly on the application to the event of Psalms xxiv. 7, 8, 10, and xlvii. 8, 5, 6, which, though generally understood so by the Christian Church, yet are nowhere explicitly applied to Christ's Ascension in the New Testament. The passages most to the point seem to be Eph. iv. 8—10. "Wherefore he saith, when He ascended up on high, He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. (Now that He ascended, what is it but that He also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all things.) And He gave some, Apostles," &c. (Here there is possibly a reference to the triumph, and also to the largess given by kings to the people on their Coronation Day.) And again, more

body, and clothing it with incorruptibility and immortality, offers it to the sight and touch of His friends and His faithful ones, for forty days after His Passion.—But now the present day was shining on the earth, and the Lord was about to ascend to the heavenly city. An immortal triumph [c] was prepared, and the reproach of their captivity having been wiped [d] away, the captives

expressly; "Having spoiled principalities and powers He made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it (the Cross), θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ, (Col. ii. 15). Here there can be no doubt of the Apostle's use of the triumphal imagery; but at the same time what he is speaking of is the Crucifixion not the Ascension. Thus Bp. Wordsworth, in his Commentary on the passage. (Greek Test., Epistles of St. Paul, 319). "Christ is here represented as a glorious Conqueror, riding in victory on the triumphal chariot of His Cross (*Theophyl.*), and triumphing over His enemies *by it;* by that very cross which they had erected for Him, and to which they had nailed Him. And so Satan was like Haman, nailed to his own gallows, which became like a triumphal car to Him for whom he erected it."

It is observable that *to the outward eye of the disciples,* there was a perfect absence of any appearance of pomp in our Lord's Ascension. A quietness pervades the whole transaction which gives it an unspeakable dignity. St. Mark mentions it quite as a matter of course (xvi. 19), as the event which might have been naturally looked for at the conclusion of our Lord's career. He had come from the Father's Bosom; that He should return thither again was the least surprising of all His exploits. And the two angels who appear in St. Luke's account (Acts x. 11), do not appear in the character of an escort to the Saviour, but in that of instructors to the Apostles. They are not even called "angels;" but merely "two men in white apparel." God's thoughts of what constitutes a triumph are not the same as man's.

[d] "the reproach of their captivity having been wiped away"—*captivitatis abraso dedecore. Abrado* (to shave off) is a somewhat singular word. It is used in Horace (Ep. I. vii. 50), of a man *clean-shaven.* The force of it here perhaps is, "having been utterly wiped away." The verb seems sometimes merely to signify *removal, in whatever manner,*—as if Herbert had written *dempto* or *ablato dedecore.* Might there possibly be an allusion to the captive maid, whom an Israelite desired to make his wife; Deut. xxi. 12, 13, "Then thou shalt bring her home to thine house; and she shall *shave her head, and pare her nails;* and she shall put the raiment of her *captivity* from off her," ("quæ *radet* cæsariem, et circumcidet ungues, et deponet vestem in quâ capta est." Vulgate.) The compound verb *abrado* seems to be unknown to the Vulgate.

The same word is used above of the stain of unbelief being wiped off from the minds of the disciples by the appearance of our Lord to St. Thomas, "omnem maculam incredulitatis à creditorum mentibus fidelium *abrasit.*" p. 208.

abraso dedecore. redempta captivitas procedebat ante currum triumphantis. Occurrebant celestes copiæ. et senatus angelorum piam moderabatur congratulationem. et minime sanctus aberat spiritus tante sollennitati. Clamabant venientes. Tollite portas principes vestras. et elevamini porte æternales et introibit rex gloriæ. Obclamabant occurrentes. Quis est iste rex gloriæ? Dominus

e "Lift up your gates, O ye princes"—*Tollite portas, principes, vestras;* and so the Septuagint (Ps. xxiii. 7), Ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. But the old Latin Version (of which the Vulgate is a revision made by Jerome from the Septuagint) retains the rendering of our English Bibles; "Lift up your heads, O ye gates." We place this old Latin side by side with the modern Vulgate version of Psalm xxiii. (xxiv.) 7, 9.

VULGATE.	OLD LATIN.
"Attollite portas principes vestras, et elevamini portæ æternales: et introibit Rex gloriæ."	"Levate portæ capita vestra, et elevamini januæ sempiternæ, et ingredietur Rex gloriæ."

Dr. Neale says on this verse (Comm. on Psalms, vol. i. p. 289); "Notice, in the first place, the difference of our version from the Vulgate: *Lift up, ye princes, your gates.* Yet the sense is the same in both: whether the gates are called on to lift up themselves, or those who have the charge of them to throw them open." And he gives five different Evangelical applications of the words, which are as follows;

1. To our Lord's triumphal entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.

2. To His descent into Hell, when He burst the gates of brass and smote the bars of iron in sunder. (Compare the expression above, "portæ inferi confringuntur.")

3. To the Ascension, the verse being the exclamation of the attendant angels.

4. To the Gospel summons to the princes of the Earth to give the King of glory entrance into their territories. (Augustine, Bede.)

5. To the Incarnation, when our Lord entered into our Nature through the gate of the Virgin's womb.

The primary occasion to which the Psalm refers is no doubt the bringing up of the Ark from the house of Obed-edom into the city of David (2 Sam. vi.), and the "gates" are those of the grey old fortress, once deemed impregnable, which David had recently wrested from the Canaanites.

The translation given by the LXX and Vulgate is a mistake: for (as Calvin *in loc.* remarks) although רָאשִׁים might bear the meaning

who had been ransomed went before the chariot of the Conqueror. The heavenly host met them; and the venerable company of the angels ordered the devout salute; and be ye sure that the Holy Ghost was in no wise absent from such a solemnity. They shouted as they came along, *Lift up your gates, O ye princes*[e], *and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates: and the King of Glory shall enter in.* And those who met them answered, *Who is this King of Glory? the Lord*[f] *of Hosts, He is* Ps. xxiv. 7. Ps. xxiv. 10.

"princes" (= "heads" of the people, see Exod. vi. 14), the affix which the word has here רָאשֵׁיכֶם (rā-shē-kem) would make it mean "your princes." The Septuagint, and Jerome following it, have transposed the affix and applied it to the word "gates."

[f] "Dominus virtutum." It is thus that Jerome, following the LXX., as he did in his revision of the Psalter, renders יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת. In the LXX. it is Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων. The old Latin which Jerome revised has a more accurate and better rendering.

Old Latin.	Vulgate (or Jerome's revision of the Old Latin).
"Quis est iste rex gloriæ? Dominus *exercituum* ipse est rex gloriæ."	"Quis est iste rex gloriæ? Dominus *virtutum* ipse est rex gloriæ."

The word *Sabaoth*, familiar to us from its being twice used in the English Bible (Rom. ix. 29 and James v. 4), and from its occurrence in the *Te Deum*, means

(1.) Armies (composed of human troops). So 2 Sam. viii. 16, "Joab the son of Zeruiah was" (עַל־הַצָּבָא, ngal-hats-tsā-vā') "over the host."

(2.) The armies of heaven; being either (*a.*) armies of angels: so 1 Kings xxii. 19, "I saw the Lord sitting on His throne, and" (הַשָּׁמַיִם כָּל־צְבָא, col-tsevā' hash-shā-mayim) "all the host of heaven standing by Him on his right hand and on his left;" or (*b.*) the sun, moon, and stars (= δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν, St. Matt. xxiv. 29): so Dan. viii. 10, "And it waxed great" (עַד־צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם, ngad-tsĕvā' hash-shā-mayim) "even to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground;" (in Job xxxviii. 7, the stars and the angels are combined).

(3.) All the tribes, vegetable and animal, which constitute the earth's furniture. So Gen. ii. 1, "Thus the heavens and the earth were finished," וְכָל־צְבָאָם, "and all the host of them."

(4.) Warfare (in its toils and hardships). So Isaiah xl. 1, "Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare" (צְבָאָהּ, tsĕvā-'āh) is accomplished.

Mr. George Grove, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, tells us that in the phrase Lord of Hosts (never found in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, or Ezekiel) the "hosts" are not properly the angels, but the

virtutum ipse est rex gloriæ. Sicque summus imperator. suusque beatissimus exercitus. hodie sancta sanctorum ingrediuntur? atque in optimis dei collocantur. Factumque est ut natura cui dictum est terra es. et in terra ibis. Hodie superponatur sideribus. superponatur cetibus angelorum. superponatur omni creaturæ. Iuxta illud apostoli. In nomine domini ihesu flectitur omne genu. celestium terrestrium et infernorum. Laborate fratres et vos conscendere ad celestem solennitatem. Laborate considere in cœlestibus cum redemptore et salvatore viro domino Ihesu Christo. Ad hoc sanctum accepistis baptismum. ad hoc

national forces of Israel, at whose head Jehovah went forth to lead them to victory over the worshippers of false gods. This original idea conveyed by the phrase is strongly brought out by the words of the Jehovah Angel to Joshua (Josh. v. 14), "Nay; but as captain of the host of the Lord" (the army assembled before Jericho) "am I now come;" and again in David's address to Goliath, "I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, *the God of the armies of Israel,* whom thou hast defied." (1 Sam. xvii. 45.) Mr. Grove also gives three curious instances in which Bacon, Spenser, and Walter Scott, have confounded *Sabaoth* with the entirely different word *Sabbath.* (ART. Sabaoth, Diction. of Bible, vol. iii. 1064.)

[g] "enter to-day the Holy of Holies." The expression is entirely Scriptural. The Holy of Holies was the type of Heaven, into which our great High-Priest entered on the day of His Ascension (Heb. ix. 12, 24). The Holy Place is the type of the Church, in which is the incense Altar of Prayer, and the candle of God's preached Word, and the Sacrament of the Eucharist corresponding to the shew-bread, and in which our Redeemer offers incense, when He praises God in the midst of the Congregation (Psalm xxii. 22, with St. Matt. xviii. 20). The court of the Temple, in which stood the Altar of Burnt Offering, represents the world, in which Christ offered Himself unto God, His sacred heart aflame with zeal and love—"an offering and sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour."

[h] "the nature to which it was said, Earth thou art and upon Earth shalt thou go."

When was it so said? We can only suppose that the author is quoting from memory the text, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" (Gen. iii. 19), and perhaps mixing up with the sentence on man that on the serpent: "On thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat" ("super pectus tuum gradieris, et terram comedes cunctis

the King of Glory; and so the most high Potentate and His most blessed army enter to-day[g] the Holy of Holies, and are placed in the chiefest places of God's creation. And so it came to pass that the nature to which it was said, *Earth thou*[h] *art, and upon earth shalt thou go,* is to-day set above the stars, set above the company of the angels, set above every creature; according to that word of the Apostle, *At the name of Jesus every knee boweth, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth*[i]. Gen. iii. 19, and iii. 14.? Phil. ii. 10.

Labour ye also, brethren, to mount up to that heavenly solemnity. Labour[k] ye to sit in heavenly places with our Redeemer and Saviour, the Man Jesus Christ our Lord. For this end ye have received holy Bap- See Eph. ii. 6, and Phil. iii. 20, and Col. iii. 1, 2.

diebus"), Gen. iii. 14. Also compare Psalm cxv. 16, (cxiii. 16). The heaven, even the heavens, are the Lord's; but the *earth hath He given to the children of men.* "Cœlum Cœli Domino: terram autem dedit filiis hominum."

[i] "things under the earth," καταχθονίων, *infernorum.* So in Rev. v. 13, "And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth (πᾶν κτίσμα ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς), and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever." By things under the earth are probably meant (1.) the departed in Hades, (2.) the devils; cf. St. Mark iii. 11, "Unclean spirits, when they saw Him, fell down before Him, and cried saying, Thou art the Son of God." (3.) Death and Hell, who shall yield an unwilling homage to Christ when they are cast into the lake of fire. (Rev. xx. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 26, 54, 55.)

Bengel well observes that this division of all things reaches further both into the height and depth, than that of the second Commandment, "any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth,"—embracing as it does angels and devils.

[k] "Labour ye to sit in heavenly places with our Redeemer and Saviour." The Apostle speaks of Christians as already risen and ascended, in virtue of their incorporation into Christ; Eph. ii. 4—6, "God who is rich in mercy, on account of His great love wherewith He loved us, even while we were dead in sins, quickened us together with Christ, (by grace are ye saved,) and raised us up together, and made us sit together in the heavenly regions, in Christ Jesus." And so Phil. iii. 20, "For our conversation IS in heaven" (ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει). When Herbert exhorts his flock to labour for an end, of which (in a certain sense) Christians are in present possession, he no more contradicts the truth of their holding such a position than does St. Paul when he exhorts, "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above."

sancto spiritu donati estis. ad hoc sanctæ eucharistiæ communicastis. ad hoc confessionem et penitentiam agitis. ad hoc opera misericordiæ exercetis. ad hoc occulta et secreta sacrarum scripturarum inquiritis. et agendo et speculando. vestras animas veteribus sordibus emundatis. Confidite de præsentia vestri* salvatoris. nobiscum est et nulla intercapedine separatur a nobis salvator noster dominus Ihesus Christus. qui cum patre et spiritu sancto. vivit et regnat deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum amen.

f. 230, col. 2.

[1] "neither is there any space which separateth us"—*nullâ intercapedine separatur à nobis Salvator noster.*

Intercapedo is generally (though not always) used of an interval of time. It is the intermission or suspension of a pursuit, business, &c., which may

tism; for this end ye were endued with the Holy Spirit; for this end ye have been made partakers of the holy Eucharist; for this end ye make confession and do penance; for this end ye perform works of mercy; for this end ye search into the secret and hidden things of the Holy Scriptures, and, both by doing and meditating, purify your souls from their old defilements. Trust ye in the presence of your Saviour. He is with us; neither is there any space[1] which separateth Him from us, even our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, God for ever and ever.

See Rom. viii. 35—39, and St. Matt. xxviii. 20.

be again resumed. Here it is rather employed of an interval of *space*, the more usual word for which is *interstitium*. Herbert's reference is to that glorious passage, Rom. viii. 35—end, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ, &c. &c."

IX.

In red letters.

SERMO

IN DIE PENTECOSTES.

DUM complerentur dies pentecostes? erant omnes pariter discipuli in eodem loco. et factus est repente de cœlo sonus tanquam advenientis spiritus vehementis? et replevit totam domum ubi erant sedentes. Et apparuerunt illis dispertite lingue tanquam ignis. seditque supra singulos eorum spiritus sanctus. Nostis fratres karissimi. decem fuisse præcepta legis? eaque contineri in quinque libris moysi. Licet enim legalium præceptorum silva excrevisset. omnia tamen præcepta sub his decem continebantur præceptis.

[a] "There were Ten *Commandments*"—*decem fuisse* præcepta *legis*. "Commandments" is the New Testament designation of the Articles of the Decalogue. The Greek word is ἐντολή, which the Vulgate renders generally by *mandatum*, but in two places (St. Mark vii. 9, x. 19) by *præceptum*. But in the original Hebrew the Commandments are simply called the *ten words*. "The *Word* of God, 'the Word of the Lord,' the constantly-recurring term for the fullest revelation, was higher than any phrase expressing merely a command, and carried with it more the idea of a self-fulfilling power." (See Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Art. TEN COMMANDMENTS, vol. iii. p. 1464 b.)

[b] "Whereof three had respect unto God, and seven unto our neighbour." That the number of the Commandments is ten there can be no doubt; for this is said in Scripture itself, Exod. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13; Deut. x. 4; but the way of making out the number ten, as also the number of Commandments to be placed in each table, has differed greatly.

(1.) According to the *Talmudical* division, which is that adopted by the modern Jews, the preface, "I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt," &c., is reckoned the first Commandment, while the second is composed of our first and second Commandments together. This division is as old as the Emperor Julian, from whom it is quoted by Cyril of Jerusalem. The objection to this arrangement is, (*a*) that it fuses together the first and second Commandments, which are entirely distinct in character, and (*b*) represents as a precept what is no precept at all, but the groundwork of the code.

(2.) The *Augustinian* division, which is that adopted by the Latin Church. According to this division, our first and second Commandments

IX.

A SERMON

ON THE DAY OF PENTECOST.

When the days of the pentecost were accomplished, they were all together in one place: and suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a mighty wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them parted tongues as it were of fire, and the Holy Ghost *sat upon every one of them.* Acts ii. 1—3.

Ye know, dearly beloved brethren, that there were Ten Commandments[a] of the Law, and that they be contained in the five books of Moses. For although a forest of commandments had grown up around the Law, yet all the precepts were briefly comprehended in these ten precepts. Whereof three[b] had respect

are merged in one, as in the Talmudical arrangement, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife" being considered as the ninth, while "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house," &c., is the tenth. Only the three first were reckoned to belong to the first Table, three being the symbol and signature of the Trinity. "The later theology of the Church of Rome apparently adopted this arrangement, as seeming to prohibit image-worship only so far as it accompanied the acknowledgment of another God." The words of the Catechism of the Council of Trent are;

"Nemo tamen propterea contra religionem Deique legem quicquam committi putet, quum sanctissimæ Trinitatis aliqua persona quibusdam signis exprimitur, quæ tam in veteri quam in novo Testamento apparuerunt; nemo enim tam rudis est, ut illa imagine divinitatem credat exprimi, sed illis declarari doceat pastor proprietates aliquas, aut actiones, quæ Deo tribuuntur; veluti quum ex Daniele (vii. 9, 10) pingitur 'antiquus dierum' in throno sedere, ante quem 'libri aperti sunt,' Dei æternitas et infinita sapientia significatur, qua omnes hominum et cogitationes et actiones, ut de iis judicium ferat, intuetur." (Pars iii. cap. ii. Quæstio xx.)

"But let no one think on that account" (on account of the precept against images) "that any thing is done contrary to religion and the law of God, when some one Person of the most holy Trinity is expressed by certain [outward] signs, such as have appeared as well in the Old as in the New Testament; for no one is so ignorant as to think that the divinity is expressed by such an image. But let the pastor teach that some particular properties or actions are set forth by them, which are attributed to God, as when in the book of Daniel 'the Ancient of days' is represented as sitting on a throne before which 'the books are opened,' the eternity of God is set forth and His infinite wisdom, whereby He surveys all the thoughts and actions of men, that He may pass judgment upon them."

Quorum tria ad deum. et septem pertinebant ad proximum. Hæc quidem ad deum. Audi israel.

The objection to this division is, that while it draws a distinction without a difference between two parts of the tenth Commandment, it refuses to recognise the substantial difference which exists between the first and second. For what difference can be more tangible than that between the sin of polytheism, and the sin of idolatry?

(3.) The *Lutheran* division is the same as the Augustinian, except that it inverts the order of the two last Commandments, making "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house" the ninth, and "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant," &c., the tenth. This order of the two last Commandments is that given in Exodus xx. 17, but the version of the Commandments in Deuteronomy v. 21 puts the wife before the house.

(4.) The last division, which is that of our own Church Catechism, is the *Origenian*, and is adopted by the Greek and all the Reformed Churches, except the Lutheran. It was adopted by the Anglican Church at the Reformation (1548). Philo and Josephus speak of this as the received division of the Jewish Church; and it is doubtless the best of all the arrangements for the separation of the Commandments one from another. But this arrangement of the separate Commandments was combined by Philo with a grouping which Christian Churches generally have not adopted. He places the fifth Commandment under the First Table, so that both Tables have five precepts each. His words are: "The first Pentad is of a higher character than the second; it treats of the monarchy whereby the whole world is governed, of statues and images (ξοάνων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων), and of all corrupt representations in general; of not taking the name of God in vain; of the religious observance of the seventh day as a day of holy rest; of honouring both parents. *So that one table begins with God, the Father and Ruler of all things, and ends with parents, who emulate him in perpetuating the human race.*" (De Decalogo, lib. i.) There is an obvious symmetry in the two groups which tends to recommend this arrangement, and which, to an Oriental mind fond of symmetries, both numerical and geometrical, would recommend it more forcibly than to ours. But independently of this symmetry, there are other forcible considerations in favour of the Pentad grouping. We give them to the reader in the language of Professor Plumptre in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Art. Ten Commandments, vol. iii. pp. 1465, 1466.

"A modern jurist would perhaps object that this" [grouping] "places the fifth Commandment in a wrong position,—that a duty to parents is a duty towards our neighbour. From the Jewish point of view, it is believed, the place thus given to that Commandment was essentially the right one. Instead of duties towards God, and duties towards our neighbours, we must think of the First Table as containing all that belonged to the Εὐσέβεια of the Greeks, to the *Pietas* of the Romans, duties i.e. with no corresponding rights, while the Second deals with duties which involve rights, and come therefore under the head of *Justitia*. The duty of honouring (i.e. supporting) parents came under the former head. As soon as a son was capable of it, and the parents required it, it was an absolute unconditional duty. His right to any maintenance from them had ceased.

unto God, and seven unto our neighbour. These be they which have respect unto God: *Hear, O Israel: the* Deut. v. 1.

He owed them reverence, as he owed it to his Father in heaven (Heb. xii. 9). He was to shew piety (εὐσεβεῖν) to them (1 Tim. v. 4). What made the 'Corban' casuistry of the Scribes so specially evil was, that it was, in this way, a sin against the piety of the First Table, not merely against the lower obligations of the Second (Mark vii. 11). It at least harmonises with this division, that the second, third, fourth, and fifth Commandments all stand on the same footing, as having special sanctions attaching to them, while the others that follow are left in their simplicity by themselves, as though the reciprocity of rights were in itself a sufficient ground for obedience. . . . . A further confirmation of the truth of this division is found in Rom. xiii. 9. St. Paul, summing up the duties 'briefly comprehended' in the one great Law, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' enumerates the last five Commandments, but makes no mention of the fifth."

If however St. Paul's words in Rom. xiii. 9 seem in favour of placing the fifth Commandment in the First Table, those of our Lord to the rich young man (St. Matt. xix. 18, 19, St. Mark x. 19), in which He recites it together with the Commandments which confessedly belong to the Second Table, appear to be adverse to such a grouping.

Perhaps it is safe to say that the fifth Commandment has two aspects, in one of which it belongs to the First Table, in another to the Second. It prescribes that God shall be honoured in His representatives (parents, pastors, magistrates); and so far it is to be considered as part of our duty to God. But as it brings into view our relationship to man (every part of which may be considered as wrapped up in, and developing itself out of, the parental and filial relationship) and the duties arising out of it, it must be classified under the Second Table. Thus it acts as a bridge of transition, by which we pass from the First to the Second Table. Similarly, the petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy will be done on earth," &c., acts as a connecting link between the first and second sections of the Prayer. It being God's will for the doing of which we pray, the petition belongs to that section of the Prayer which is characterised by homage to God. But here for the first time the thought of earth, with its sins, sorrows, and needs, is insinuated into the petitioner's mind. And accordingly he begins to pray for the supply of those needs and the healing of those sorrows.

In the fact of the Commandments of the First Table being (according to his own division of them) three, Augustine of course finds a reference to the doctrine of the Trinity. "In the first precept we are to understand the Father, of whom no similitude may be made, not that He *has* no similitude" (Christ, he would say, is the express Image of His Person), "but that no image of Him, save that which is Himself, should be worshipped, and even that Image not instead of God but with Him." Christ is God's Image—God's *Name*, the manifestation of His character. And this Name the second Precept forbids us to take in vain; that is, it for-

Dominus deus tuus. deus unus est. Item. Non accipies nomen domini dei tui invanum. Item. Observa diem sabbati. Hæc ut prædiximus. pertinent ad deum. Cætera septem quæ secuntur? ad proximum. Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam. non occides. non mechaberis. non furaberis. non falsum testimonium dixeris. non concupisces rem proximi tui. non concupisces uxorem proximi tui. Quæ dominus adbrevians compendiosius comprædendit. Diliges inquit dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo. et ex tota anima tua. et ex omnibus viribus tuis. et proximum tuum sicut teipsum. In his enim duobus præceptis? tota lex pendet et prophetæ. Ecce verbum ad-

bids us to regard Christ as a *creature;* so that in this precept the Second Person is understood. And the Holy Spirit, as being the earnest of our eternal rest, is insinuated under the Sabbath Law which forms the third Precept. This is (so far as we are able to understand it) Augustine's mode of discovering the mystery of the Trinity in the First Table of the Law. The number of the precepts in the Second Table according to this arrangement (seven), might also offer a fine field for mystical interpretations. [See Augustine, *ad Inquisitiones Januarii*, lib. ii. cap. xi. tom. ii. col. 135, E. F.]

[c] "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God." It is singular that Herbert should omit both the first and second Commandments altogether, still more that he should substitute for them that which is not even the Preface to the Commandments themselves, but only the Preface to their summary, as it stands in Deut. vi. 4, and as it is quoted by our Lord, St. Mark xii. 29. It can only be accounted for by the fact that he is just about to quote the summary, and has that in his mind, while he is enumerating the Commandments themselves.

[d] "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's substance; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife." It should be observed that the version of the tenth Commandment given in Exodus is followed, (according to which "the house" precedes "the wife"), not that in Deuteronomy (according to which "the wife" takes precedence of the "house, field," &c. (Cp. Exod. xx. 17, with Deut. v. 21.)

The *latter* arrangement is that adopted by Augustine, as may be seen from the following passage quoted from that Father in Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature (vol. i. p. 541, a. Art. DECALOGUE): "The sin of coveting another man's wife differs so much from coveting his house, that

Lord thy God is one[c] *God.* Also; *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.* Also; *Observe the day of the sabbath.* These, as we said afore, have respect unto God. The other seven which follow have respect to our neighbour: *Honour thy father and thy mother; Thou shalt not kill; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not bear false witness; Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's substance; Thou shalt not covet thy*[d] *neighbour's wife.* These Commandments the Lord shortened, and comprehended them briefly in these sayings. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God,* saith he, *with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength; and thy neighbour as thyself. For on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.* Behold the shortened[e] word, which the

Deut. vi. 4. Deut. v. 11. Deut. v. 12. Deut. v. 16—20. Exod. xx. 17. Deut. v. 2. St. Matt. xxii. 37, 38, 40.

to the house was joined his field, his servant, his maid, his ox, his ass, his cattle, and all that is his. But it seems to divide the coveting of the house from the coveting of the wife, when each begins thus: '*thou shalt not covet* thy neighbour's wife, *thou shalt not covet* thy neighbour's house,' to which it then begins to add the rest. For when He had said, 'thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife,' He did not add the rest to this, saying, 'nor his house, nor his field, nor his servant,' &c.; but these seem plainly to be united, and distinct from that wherein the wife is named."

The Exodus arrangement is, however, that adopted in the Catechism of the Council of Trent; but Mr. Wright (in Kitto's Cyclopædia) tells us that "the Churches of the Roman Communion have not been consistent in following the Tridentine division," some of these Churches preferring (with Augustine) the Deuteronomy arrangement. Thus in the *Paroissien Romain*, published at Tours and widely circulated in France, we find the precept as to the wife placed first, the Commandments of the Second Table being thus given;

4. Tes père et mère honoreras,
   Afin de vivre longuement.
5. Homicide point ne seras,
   De fait ni volontairement.
6. Luxurieux point ne seras,
   De corps ni de consentement.
7. Le bien d'autrui tu ne prendras,
   Ni retiendras à ton escient.
8. Faux témoignage ne diras,
   Ni mentiras aucunement.
9. L'œuvre de chair ne désireras,
   Qu'en mariage seulement.
10. Biens d'autrui ne convoiteras,
   Pour les avoir injustement.

[e] "Behold the shortened word," &c. Probably Herbert is accommodating to his purpose the words of Rom. ix. 28, which seem to be

breviatum: quod misit dominus super terram. et præcepit adimpleri. Cujus complexione sacrarum series comprænenditur scripturarum. Completos dicit dies pentecostes. Deni enim quinquies ducti. consurgunt in quinquagenarium. et quinquagenarius dies. annus significat jubeleum. et annus jubeleus tempus significat sancti euuangelii (*sic*). in quo omnia remittuntur peccata. et exulati antiquum revertuntur ad solum. quod fit cum peccatorum dominio abrenuntiamus[5] et baptismo. vel penitentia abluti nostri creatoris imagini et similitudini reformamur. In eodem loco consi-
f. 230 b. debant apostoli cum sanctum accepunt (*sic*)* spiritum. quoniam hic spiritum accipiunt sanctum.

in his mind. According to the Vulgate and the Rheims they run thus;—

Vulgate.	*Rheims.*
Verbum enim consummans, et abbrevians in æquitate: quia verbum breviatum faciet Dominus super terram.	For he shall finish his word, and cut it short in justice: because a short word shall the Lord make upon the earth.

[f] The *ten* we suppose represents the Decalogue, and the *five* the books of the Law. The number *five* is often supposed to represent the Pentateuch. Thus Bp. Wordsworth on 1 Sam. xvii. 40: "David, the shepherd of Bethlehem, chose five smooth stones out of the stream for his sling, and with one of them he overthrew the enemy. So our Divine David, the good Shepherd of Bethlehem, when He went forth at the temptation to meet Satan, our ghostly Goliath, chose *five stones* out of the brook; He took the five Books of Moses ('quinque lapides lex erat, quæ continetur in *quinque libris* Moysi,' says S. Augustine) out of the flowing stream of Judaism; He took what was solid out of what was fluid; He took what was permanent out of what was transitory; He took what was moral and perpetual out of what was ceremonial and temporary. He took *stones* out of a *brook*, and with *one* of these He overthrew Satan; all Christ's answers to the Tempter being moral precepts, taken from *one* book of the Law, Deuteronomy."

[g] "Sins are remitted." We suppose the allusion is to the alleged remission of debts at the Jubilee. Sins are regarded in the Lord's Prayer (St. Matt. vi. 12), as also in the parable of the Unforgiving Servant (St. Matt. xviii. 27) as debts to God; and Herbert in speaking of them as being remitted under the dispensation of the Gospel, intends to bring out the typical sig-

Lord hath sent forth upon the earth, and commanded that it should be fulfilled. In the compass of which all the books of Holy Scripture, one after another, are comprehended. He saith that *the days of Pentecost were* Acts ii. 1. *fulfilled.* For ten, multiplied five[f] times, reacheth unto fifty; and the fiftieth day signifieth the year of Jubilee; and the year of Jubilee signifieth the year of the holy Gospel, wherein all sins are remitted[g], and the banished ones return to the land of their fathers; which comes to pass when we renounce the dominion of sin, and washed by baptism or by penance, are made anew after the image and likeness of our Creator[h]. The Apostles were sitting in *one place*[i] when they received the Holy Ghost, forasmuch as they receive the Holy Ghost who

nificance of one of the Jubilee institutions. There seems, however, the greatest doubt whether debts *were* remitted at the Jubilee. That they were remitted in the Sabbatical year is undoubted (Deut. xv. 1, 2), and those who had brought themselves into bondage for debt were set free in the Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 40, 41); but the cancelling of debts in connexion with the Jubilee rests only on the authority of Josephus. (See Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, vol. i. p. 1152, col. a.)

[h] "made anew after the image and likeness of the Creator." The finding in man's restoration to God's moral image the antitype of the return of property to its original owner at the Jubilee, strikes us as a little strange. Godwyn's exposition of the type seems simpler: "It did mystically shadow forth that spiritual *Jubilee*, which *Christians* enjoy under *Christ*, by whose blood we have a re-entry into the Kingdome of Heaven, which we had formerly forfeited by our sinnes." (Moses and Aaron, bk. iii. c. 10, p. 137, London, 1655.)

[i] "one place." The use which Bp. Andrewes makes of the *one place*, bears such a resemblance to Herbert's comment upon it, that we present it to the reader. "Suppose we were of *one accord;* is not that enough? May we not spare this other—*of one place?* If our minds be one, for the place, it skills not: it is but a circumstance, or a ceremony; what should we stand at it? Yes, sure: seeing the Holy Ghost hath thought it so needful as to enter it, we may not pass it over, or leave it out: not only *of one mind*, that is, Unanimity; but also *in one place* too; that is, Uniformity: both 'in the Unity of the Spirit,' that is, inward; and 'in the bond of peace' too, that is, outward: an *item* for those whom the Apostle calls *Filii substractionis*, that forsake the congregation, as even then, in the Apostles' times, 'the manner of some was.' . . . God's will is, that we should be as upon one foundation, so under one roof. That is His doing, 'who maketh men of one mind to dwell in one house." (Quoted in Rev. Prebendary Ford's "Acts of the Apostles illustrated," p. 37.)

qui in unitate sanctæ consistunt ecclesiæ et morum vel operum dissimilitudine non dividuntur ab integritate fidelium. Aliis et aliis locis heretici et scismatici. et falsi Christiani discurrunt. qui diversis suorum errorum egritudinibus chatholicam perturbantes pacem. ecclesiasticæ societatis non servant unitatem. Et apparuerunt illis dispertite linguæ tanquam ignis. seditque supra singulos eorum spiritus sanctus. Certe fratres consideranda verba hystoriæ. et latentia sacramenta[k] diligenter perscrutanda sunt. In igne et linguis descendit spiritus sanctus. quoniam fideles quos replet: et ignitos amore. et securos[l] facit eloquentia. Unde dominus alibi dicit. Ignem veni mittere in terram. et quid volo nisi ut ardeat? Ardent sancti apostoli. cum simplici intentione prædicant veritatem. cum[m] solius dei dilectione succenduntur. Unde dominus in evangelio. Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex? totum corpus tuum

[k] For the meaning which the word "Sacramentum" here bears, see above, p. 25, sect. (4) *a.* of the footnote.

[l] *Securos eloquentia.* A very fine phrase, and one not unworthy of Cicero, to denote that absence of solicitude as to expression and method, which comes from having a fervent spirit, glowing with zeal and love. There is no doubt a tacit reference to St. Matt. x. 19: "When they deliver you up, take no thought (μὴ μεριμνήσητε) how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak;" and to St. Luke xii. 11, 12: "And when they bring you unto the synagogues, and unto magistrates, and powers, take ye no thought how or what thing ye shall answer, or what ye shall say: For the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say." Bengel's terse and significant comment on the passage is, that the only care be not to care. It is observable that in both Evangelists the direction is to be without care about the thing said, no less than about the method of saying it. Fervent love will supply both the topic and the manner.

[m] *Cum.* This *cum* is superfluous and ungrammatical. Probably it crept in from the intention of the author to construct this clause like the foregoing, where the *cum* is quite in its place.

abide in the unity of the holy Church, and are not separated from the whole body of the faithful by ways and actions agreeing not with theirs. As for heretics, and schismatics, and false Christians, they run about, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, disquieting the Catholic peace with their divers unsound errors, and not keeping the unity of church brotherhood.

And there appeared unto them parted tongues, as it were of fire, and there sat upon every one of them the Holy Spirit. Certainly, brethren, we must consider the words of this history, and make diligent search into its hidden allegories. The Holy Ghost descended in fire and in tongues, inasmuch as He maketh the faithful, whom He filleth, both to kindle with love, and to take no thought beforehand as to utterance. Whence the Lord saith in another place; *I am come to cast fire*[n] *upon the earth; and what will I but that it* burn? The holy Apostles burn with zeal; with single intent of heart they preach the truth; with the love of God they are inflamed. Whence the Lord saith in the Gospel; *If thy eye*[o] *be single, thy whole body will be light-*

Acts ii. 3.

St. Luke xii. 49.

St. Luke xi. 34.

[n] "I am come to send fire." Herbert's explanation of the *fire* in this passage of St. Luke, has the sanction of ancient as well as modern commentators. Dean Alford *in loc.* says, "The fire is *the gift of the Holy Spirit*, the great crowning result of the sufferings and triumph of the Lord Jesus." True it is that in the immediately succeeding context, our Lord speaks of the separation between man and man to which His coming should give occasion. But it must be borne in mind that fire has sometimes a separating agency, the refiner's fire separating the dross from the gold. It was the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles which parted them off from the world, and set the world at issue with them; and the same Spirit does the same work on the individual heart which He does upon society, burning out gradually the dross of the corruption of our nature, which still remains in those that be regenerate. Ambrose in his Expos. Evang. Luc. (Ed. Bened. tom. i. col. 1441, 1442) makes the fire to be that of zeal and love, which is kindled on the heart's altar by the Holy Spirit, and which he says burns out every work of the flesh which is doomed to perish; it is the fire which burned in the bones of the prophets, according to that saying of Jeremiah, "There came in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones" (Douay Trans.), and the fire which kindled the hearts of the disciples on the road to Emmaus, when the Lord opened the Scriptures to them.

[o] "thine eye." Bishop Wordsworth takes the same view of the word as

lucidum erit. si vero nequam fuerit totum etiam corpus tenebrosum erit. Unde conveniẽter subsequitur. Facta autem hac voce convenit multitudo. et mente confusa est. quoniam audiebat unusquisque lingua sua illos loquentes. Mira res. Una erat lingua. et ex una lingua omnium linguarum excipiebatur intellectus. ut tanto insolentius appareret miraculum. quanto totius orbis viri. una in lingua galileorum suarum idiomata linguarum recognoscerent. Audivimus eos loquentes magnalia dei. Magnalia dei sunt inhumanatio[p] virtutis. et sapientie dei partus et con-

Herbert. The single eye according to him denotes a pure intention. "Thy body will be full of light if thou hast one object in view, i.e. the glory of God seen in the way of obedience to His Law." (See his Commentary on St. Matt. vi. 22.) But he adds in a note a very important *caveat* from Bp. Sanderson, which is, that singleness of aim must be taken to include not only a right end, but a right means to the end. There must be light in the judgment as well as zeal in the heart, otherwise the zeal will be that of the Jews, not according to knowledge. See St. Bernard (*Lib. de Precepto et Dispens.*, ed. Bened., tom. i. 521, a, b.): "It is evident therefore that the laudable simplicity which is praised by the Lord, involves these two things, benevolence and prudence, that is to say, that the eye of the heart should be not only devout, and so unwilling to deceive, but also cautious, and so unable to be deceived."

[p] *inhumanatio.* A Latin word for incarnation, corresponding to the Greek ἐνανθρώπησις. It is used by Facundus of Hermiane in Africa, who lived in the middle of the sixth century, and who makes a kind of apology for the expression. He is defending Theodore of Mopsuestia from a charge of Nestorianism, and he says, "Who, hearing that he has composed works on the Incarnation (or, to express it more properly in the manner of the Greeks, by a word which is not very good Latin, but necessary to be coined, on the Inhumanation) of the Son of God, would think that he had taught that there were two Sons of God?" (Ducange Gloss: *s.v.* INHUMANATIO.) The ground on which the word *inhumanation* is preferred to *incarnation* we suppose to be, that the humanity of our Blessed Lord is more precisely indicated in it. The word *flesh* denotes man on the side of his mere animal nature, and indeed is applied in the Bible to the lower animals, as where it is said, "They went in . . . two and two of all flesh," Gen. vii. 15.

[q] "Acknowledged in the one language of the Galileans the forms of speech proper to their own tongues." It seems evident that Herbert sup-

some: but if it be evil, the whole *body also will be darksome.*

And hence it followeth fitly; *And when this was noised abroad, the multitude came together, and were confused in mind, because that every man heard them speak in his own tongue.* A marvellous thing. There was one language; and from that one language the understanding of all languages was communicated to the hearers, that the miracle might appear all the more wonderful, when men from the whole world acknowledged in the one language of the Galileans the forms of speech proper to their own tongues [9]. Acts ii. 6.

We have heard them speak the wonderful works of God. The wonderful works of God are the Incarnation of the Acts ii. 11.

poses the miracle of the Pentecost to have resided principally in the ears of the listeners, and not in the tongue of the speaker. It is probable that he borrowed his view from Bede, who however does not announce it very positively, nor without a certain misgiving about its correctness. On "They began to speak with other tongues," he remarks, "Oneness of speech, which the arrogant enterprise of Babylon had broken up, the humility of the Church gathers together again." We can only suppose this to mean, that as one language was originally given for the whole race of man, so now one language was restored to the Apostles of Christ, which one language each of the listeners heard as if it had been his own. Afterwards on the passage, "Every one heard them speak in his own language," Bede is more explicit, and says that the text may be understood to mean, that when any one of the Apostles was addressing the people, the language he used (whatever it might be) had in it such force, that the auditors, of whatever nation they might be, heard and understood what was said as if it were in their own tongue. He adds however, somewhat significantly, "But perhaps, according to this view, the miracle would seem to have been wrought rather upon the hearers than upon the speakers." (*Expositio in Acta*, cap. ii. vol. xii. pp. 16, 17, ed. Giles.) Bengel flatly contradicts this view, and so does Bp. Wordsworth, who alleges very justly that the miracle was symbolized by tongues sitting on the heads of the Apostles, and therefore must have resided in the tongue. The only Father who adopts this view, mentioned by Mr. Plumptre in his learned article in Smith's Dict. of the Bible, (Art. TONGUES,) is Gregory of Nyssa, whom we regret that we have not the opportunity of consulting. Mr. Plumptre's own objections to it, which seem to us conclusive, are (i.) that it is at variance with the plain language of Scripture, "they began to speak with other tongues;" (ii.) that it at once multiplies the miracle, and degrades its character; (iii.) that it represents the miracle as giving a false impression of what it really was; and (iv.) that it is irreconcileable with the notices of the gift of tongues, 1 Cor. xiv.

ceptus virginis. Lac et vagitus. cunæ et præsepe. et infantia creatoris; Fuga dei in egyptum. latibula in iudea. præsentacio in templo. Christi subjectio virgini. et ioseph. Magnalia dei sunt baptismus Christi. temptatio Christi. vita et prædicatio Christi. passio. et crucifixio. sepultura et resurrectio Christi. argumenta resurrectionis
f. 230 b. col. 2. Christi. ascensio et consessio a* dextris dei. adventus secundus Christi in eadem carne qua judicatus est. et in fine mundi judicium universale futurum. Item magnalia dei sunt conversio gentium. subversio idolorum. cecitas iudeorum. et ad prædicationem heliæ futura conversio. Postremo

[r] "suckling." Nothing is said in Holy Scripture on the nursing of our Lord by the Blessed Virgin. Our readers however will remember that in Bp. Jeremy Taylor's Life of Christ there is a discourse on the duty of nursing children (vol. iv. p. 157, ed. Heber); and Bp. Wordsworth has some valuable observations on the same subject in his Commentary on 1 Thess. ii. 7. There is something very solemn and touching in the thought, that our Blessed Lord on the Cross looked back to the period when He hung upon His mother's breasts, Ps. xxii. 9. Children are commonly thought to imbibe moral qualities with the milk that nourishes them. If there is a great mystery in the thought that our Blessed Lord derived nourishment from one who partook of the corruption of our nature, this, of course, is only one part of the greater mystery that He derived His sinless humanity from one who was herself a sinner.

[s] "wailing." Ambrose speaks very beautifully in his exposition of St. Luke (tom. i. col. 1295 E. ed. Bened.), of the wailing and tears of the Infant Saviour: "The weeping of that wailing infancy washes me throughly. Those tears have purged away my offences." Bengel however seems to object to the idea that the Infant Saviour exhibited the ordinary signs of infantine fretfulness. Of Christ lying in the manger, he says: "The little One, not being infected with impatience, had no need of the convenience of a moveable cradle."

[t] "the places where He lay hid in Judea." We suppose the reference is to St. Matt. ii. 22, where Joseph is said, in consequence of a warning in a dream, to have turned aside into the parts of Galilee, on hearing that Archelaus reigned in Judea. The names Judea and Galilee occurring in the same verse, Herbert has by mistake put the first for the second.

[u] "Elias." See p. 64, note a, and p. 100, note g. The idea that Elijah should convert the Jews by his preaching is of course founded upon

power and wisdom of God; the Virgin's delivery, and conception; the suckling[r] and the wailing[s]; the cradle and stall and infancy of the Creator; the flight of God into Egypt; the places where He lay hid in Judea[t]; His Presentation in the Temple; the subjection of Christ to the Virgin and to Joseph. The wonderful works of God are the Baptism of Christ; the Temptation of Christ; the life and preaching of Christ; the Passion and Crucifixion; the Burial and Resurrection of Christ; the proofs of the Resurrection of Christ; the Ascension; the Sitting at the Right Hand of God; the Second Advent of Christ, in the same flesh in which He was judged; and in the end of the world the general judgment which shall [then] come to pass. Moreover, the wonderful works of God are the conversion of the Gentiles, the overthrow of the idols, the blindness of the Jews, and their future conversion at the preaching of Elias[u], which shall come to pass hereafter. Finally,

Malachi iv. 5, 6; "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse." The reader will find a full and interesting note on this subject in Bp. Wordsworth's Commentary *in loc.*, where the names of the Christian Fathers, who imagined that Elijah would come in person before the Second Advent, are enumerated; but the Bishop gives it as his opinion that "the words of Malachi, especially as interpreted by the Gospel, do not seem to require, perhaps not to admit, such a belief." On the conversion of the Jews to Christianity by the ministry of Elijah, the Bishop refers to Theodoret, Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Gregory, and quotes the following passage from Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 29: "It is a very prevalent opinion in the discourses and hearts of the faithful, that by the instrumentality of Elias, the great and wonderful prophet, expounding to them the true meaning of the Law of Moses, in the latter days before the final Judgment, the Jews will be brought to believe in the true Christ. With good reason the appearance of Elias is hoped for, before the Advent of our Saviour and Judge; because with good reason he is believed to be still alive, inasmuch as he was carried up from this world in a chariot of fire. When, therefore, Elias comes, he will expound the Law spiritually, which the Jews now understand carnally, and he will turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and *the children to the fathers;* that is, the Jews, who are the children, will understand the Law in the same sense as their fathers the Prophets understood it."

magnalia dei sunt. resurrectio animarum in progressione præsentis. et resurrectio corporum in exordio futuræ vitæ. Impassibilitas animarum. et incorruptibilitas et immortalitas corporum. et totus homo innovandus. non in eo habitu quo fuit ante peccatum. sed in ea perfectione qua futurus erat si non peccasset post commestionem ligni vitæ. Hæc fratres magnalia inebriati spiritu sancto sancti loquebantur apostoli. sed præsentium iudeorum auditui videbantur hæc deliramenta. et potati ingurgitatio meri. De quibus dominus sacri evangelii hodierna lectione convenienter protestatur. Qui non diligit me sermonem meum non servat. et sermonem quem audistis non est meus. sed ejus qui misit me patris. Nostis fratres karissimi. quoniam dominus noster Ihesus Christus verbum est dei patris. Et licet eorum eadem sit natura. Pater tamen alius. et alius filius sunt in persona. Unde dominus. Non se suum dicit sermonem. sed ejus a quo generatus est patris. Paraclitus autem spiritus sanctus quem

[x] Two points are worthy of observation here. The *first*, Herbert's emphatic recognition of the superiority of the state of glorified saints to that of our first parents before their fall; and the *second*, his opinion that the eating of the tree of life before man sinned, and on the termination of his probation, would have brought about this glorified condition. Bede, commenting on the text, Rev. ii. 7, "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God," has much the same thought. He paraphrases this text thus: "He who shall overcome the temptation of the old serpent, whereby Adam was overcome, I will give to him what I would have given to Adam in case he had overcome, to be eternally refreshed with the present vision of Christ's glory, and so to become incapable of being reached by any assault of death." (Comment. in Principium Genesis, vol. vii. p. 43, ed. Giles.) It would seem to be implied in this view that our first parents never actually ate of the tree of life; but that it was reserved as a means of glorifying them, if they had stood their probation. This is very dif-

the wonderful works of God are the resurrection of souls, while the present age continueth; and the resurrection of bodies in the beginning of the future age; the freedom of souls from suffering, and the incorruptibility and immortality of bodies which shall then come to pass, and the renewing of the whole man, not in the fashion in which he was found before the entering in of sin, but in that perfection in which he would have been found (had he never sinned,) after eating of the tree of life[x]. These wonderful things, my brethren, the holy Apostles spake, being filled with the Holy Spirit. But to the hearing of the Jews who were there, these things appeared to be the utterances of madness, and the drunkenness of wine. Concerning whom the Lord, in the holy Gospel appointed for this day[y], fitly protesteth; *He that loveth me not, keepeth not my word. And the word which you have heard is not mine; but the Father's who sent me.* Ye know, dearly beloved brethren, that our Lord Jesus Christ is the Word of God the Father. And although the nature of these two be the same, yet the Father is one person, and the Son another; whence the Lord saith, that the word which He spake was not His own, but the Father's, by whom He was begotten. *But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will*

St. John xiv. 24.

St. John xiv. 26.

ferent from the view sometimes taken by later expositors, that the partaking of the tree of life was the means of continuing natural life to our first parents in the garden, and that the depriving them of access to it after they had sinned, was the way in which the sentence was fulfilled, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."

These last words may be interpreted in two other ways. We may suppose that man became mortal in the day on which he ate the tree, so that from that day forward not only had he the sentence of death in himself, but death actually wrought in him (and so Symmachus translates θνητὸς ἔσῃ); or, that the sentence did really mean that they should die on the day of transgression, but that "from the moment of the sin, the action of Redemption began at once to unfold itself," and that the subsequent existence and propagation of mankind was due entirely to this action. (See White's "Life in Christ," 2nd ed., pp. 126, 127.)

[y] The Gospel for Whitsun Day, in the Sarum Missal, is exactly the same as our own, viz. St. John xiv. 15 (prefaced by, "Jesus said unto His disciples"), down to "even so I do," ver. 31.

mittet pater in nomine meo. ille vos docebit omnia. et suggeret vobis omnia quæcumque dixero vobis. Ecce fratres. Auditis patrem. auditis filium. et a patre per filium missum esse paraclitum[z] spiritum. Id ipsum est quod psalmista canit. Verbo domini cœli firmati sunt. et spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum. Pater est deus. filius est deus. spiritus sanctus est deus. et ter deus? non nisi unus deus. Unus non singularitate persone. sed in differentia ejusdem substantiæ. Suggeret vobis omnia. et docebit omnia quæcumque dixero vobis. Ineffabile sacramen-
f. 231. tum[a]. Verbum loquitur. et spiritus suggerit et docet. quoniam inefficax est sermo prædicantis. si animus intus non alitur amore et fotu spiritus sancti. Velox est iste artifex. et nulla est discendi mora. ubi spiritus sanctus audientium præparat corda. Libet ascendere. et discurrere per sacras hystorias. et tanti artificis speculari velocitatem. Tetigit pastorem vellicantem sicomores. et prophetam fecit. Tetigit puerum pusillum. et suorum fratrum ultimum. et psalmistam et regem constituit. Tetigit in Babilonia abstinentem et continentem danielem. et dominice passionis tem-

[z] The sacred name of Paraclete (or Comforter), given by our Lord to the Holy Spirit, has undergone in its third syllable a barbarous change, both of quantity and spelling. In the verses of Prudentius (the Christian poet, complimented somewhat fulsomely by Bentley as "the Horace and Virgil of the Christians"), the third syllable of Paracletus is found short. The following line is from his Cathemerinon (a collection of hymns for daily and occasional use), and is intended, as will be seen, to describe the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father;

"Spirat de patrio corde Paracletum."

Prudentius, whatever his merits, was quite regardless of the ordinary laws of prosody. He lived from A.D. 348 to about the end of the first decade

send in my name, He will teach you all things, and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you. Behold, brethren, ye hear the Father, ye hear the Son, and that the Holy Ghost the Paraclete was sent from the Father through the Son. That is it which the Psalmist sings; *By the word of the Lord the heavens were established; and all the power of them by the spirit of his mouth.* The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Ghost is God; and though God be thus thrice named, yet there is but one God. One, not by singleness of person, but by a difference in the same substance. *He will teach you all things, and bring to your mind whatsoever I shall have said unto you.* An unspeakable mystery. The Word speaketh, and the Spirit teacheth and bringeth to mind; since the sermon of the preacher is of none effect, if the soul within be not nurtured by the love and cherishing of the Holy Ghost. Swift is that Artificer, and there is no slowness in learning, where the Holy Ghost prepareth the hearts of the hearers. I have a mind now to rise aloft, to run through the sacred histories, and to observe the swiftness of this great Artificer. He touched the herdsman as he was gathering sycomore fruit, and made him a prophet. He touched the lowly stripling; and him who was the last among his brethren He appointed to be a psalmist and a king. He touched in Babylon the abstinent and temperate Daniel, and shewed unto him the time of

Ps. xxxii. 6, Vulg.

Amos vii. 14, 15.

1 Kings xvi. 11.

Dan. i. 12.

of the fifth century, and held a high appointment at the court of the Emperor.

The quantity of the third syllable of Paraclitus was made by the mediæval versifiers to accommodate itself to their convenience. Thus in the noble hymn "Veni Creator," attributed to Charlemagne, we have the right quantity;

"Qui Paraclitus diceris,
Altissimi donum Dei,
Fons vivus, ignis, caritas,
Et spiritalis unctio;"

and in Adam of St. Victor's hymn, "De Spiritu Sancto," the wrong;

"Qui procedis ab utroque,
Genitore, Genitoque,
Pariter, Paraclite,
Redde linguas eloquentes,
Fac ferventes in te mentes
Flammâ tuâ divite."

(Trench's Sacred Latin Poetry, London, 1849, pp. 167, 170.)

* *Ineffabile Sacramentum.* See p. 21, note x, IV. (4) β.

pus. cccc. et nonaginta ante annis manifestavit ei. Certe fratres sancti apostoli. de quorum illuminatione præsens exortus est sermo. quales ante adventum spiritus sancti. et quales post adventum ejusdem spiritus sancti fuerunt? cognoscitis. Ante adventum spiritus sancti. uno in conclavi sedebant prodire metuebant. ad omnia fluctuabant. nulla in veritate consistebant. Ipse princeps apostolorum. super cujus fidem soliditas fundatur ecclesiæ. in passione domini extimuit vocem ancille. Qui post adventum spiritus sancti nec in ierusalem increpationes sacerdotum. nec rome exhorruit neronis crucem. Ita et ceteri apostoli antea timidi. post adventum sancti spiritus securi in omnem terram exierunt. et in finibus orbis terræ auditus est sonus eorum. Potens est spiritus dei. et adornator totius ecclesiæ. sicut sanctus

[b] "four hundred and ninety years or ever it came to pass." Herbert here seems to fall into precisely the same error as that on which we have already commented in his Christmas Sermon, that of supposing that the seventy weeks of years were to count from the giving of the prophecy, instead of from "the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem." (See pp. 17—21 above, and the foot-notes). The years are, according to Herbert's interpretation, lunar, which was the then received view (p. 19, lines 3—5).

[c] *super cujus fidem soliditas fundatur ecclesiæ.* The reader will observe Herbert's interpretation of a passage which has given rise to endless controversy. He evidently thinks the rock upon which our Lord promised to build His Church to be the faith of St. Peter (*super cujus fidem*). There is nothing in the words to shew whether *fides* is to be understood subjectively of the Apostle's sentiment, or objectively of the truth confessed by him. Probably we should understand it of both,—St. Peter's faith, as expressed in the noble confession that his Master was the Christ, the Son of the Living God. This, whether we accept it or not, is a true Protestant interpretation of the passage, and one which some of the Fathers adopt. "Some of them say" (Bp. Wordsworth observes *in loc.*) "that the πέτρα is the faith of St. Peter, others that the πέτρα is Christ, confessed to be God and man, which is equivalent to, but a more clear assertion of, the other opinion."

the Lord's Passion, four hundred and ninety years or ever it came[b] to pass. And doubtless ye know, my brethren, what manner of men the holy Apostles were, (of whose illumination the present sermon treats,) before the coming of the Holy Ghost; and what manner of men they were afterwards. Before the coming of the Holy Ghost, they sat in one upper chamber, they feared to go abroad, they wavered in all things, they stood stedfast in no truth. The prince of the Apostles himself, upon whose faith the Church is grounded and settled[c], was affrighted at the time of our Lord's Passion by the voice of a damsel, whereas after the coming of the Holy Ghost he was not dismayed either by the rebukes of the priests in Jerusalem, or by the cross of Nero at Rome[d]. So also the other Apostles, who were fearful before, after the coming of the Holy Ghost went forth with full assurance into every land, and their sound was heard in the ends of the earth. Mighty is the Spirit of God, and garnisheth the whole Church, as the holy prophet foretold, *The* Holy *Spirit*

Dan. ix. 24.

Job xxvi. 13.

[d] "the cross of Nero at Rome." Herbert would doubtless accept the account given by St. Ambrose of the circumstances of St. Peter's death, which is as follows:—that after Peter's victory over Simon Magus, the Gentiles, finding that his preaching began to gain some ground, sought him with hostile intent, and the Christians entreated him to withdraw himself for a season. "And although he was desirous of suffering, yet his resolution was shaken at the sight of the people making supplication to him; for they requested that he would reserve himself for their further instruction and confirmation in the faith. But why should I delay the account of the issue? By night he attempted to pass outside the walls, and seeing Christ meet him in the gate and enter the city, he said to Him, Lord, whither goest Thou? Christ answered, I come to be crucified again. Peter understood that the Divine answer referred to *his own* cross, for Christ could not be crucified again, since, by suffering the death which He had undertaken to die, He had put off the flesh; *for in that he died to sin, he died once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.* Peter therefore understood that Christ was to be crucified again in His poor servant. He therefore willingly returned, and when the Christians questioned him as to what had occurred, he gave them the true answer, and being immediately seized by the Gentiles, honoured the Lord Jesus by his cross." (Sti. Ambrosii Opp. Ed. Bened., tom. ii. col. 866, F. 867, A. B.)

prædixit propheta. Spiritus sanctus adornavit celos. Et apostolus. Unicuique autem datur manifestacio spiritus ad utilitatem. Alii quidem per spiritum datur sermo sapientiæ. alii autem sermo scientiæ secundum eundem spiritum. Alteri fides in eodem spiritu. Alii gratia sanitatum in uno spiritu. Alii operatio virtutum. alii prophetia. alii discretio spirituum. Alii gratia[e] linguarum. alii interpretatio sermonum. Hæc autem omnia? operatur unus atque idem spiritus. dividens singulis prout vult. Magnus agricola
fol. 231, col. 2. spiritus sanctus. sed steriles abhominatur agros. Extirpate inutiles herbas de cordibus vestris. Fornicationem. inmunditiam.[f] avariciam. impudiciciam. luxuriam. idolorum servitutem. veneficia. inimicicias. contemptiones (*sic*) emulationes. iras. rixas. dissenciones.[g] hereses. sectas. invidias. homicidia. ebrietates. commesationes. et his similia que prædico vobis sicut prædixi. quoniam qui talia agunt? regnum dei non consequentur. An ignoratis inquit apostolus fratres quia corpus vestrum templum est spiritus sancti. quem habetis ex deo et habitat in vobis? Timete ergo sanctum spiritum contristari. quoniam spiritus sanctus effugit fictum. et discedit a cogitacionibus quæ sunt sine intellectu. Conservate igitur in vobis caritatem. gaudium. pacem. pacientiam. longanimitatem. bonitatem. benignitatem. mansuetudinem. fidem. modestiam. continentiam. castitatem. Fratres conscribuntur omnia peccata vestra recitanda ante faciem judicaturi dei in conspectu omnium oculorum; Karissimi. conser-

hath adorned the heavens. And the Apostle saith, *And* 1 Cor. xii. *the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man unto* 7—12. *profit.* To one indeed, by *the Spirit, is given the word of wisdom: and to another, the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit: To another, faith in the same Spirit: to another, the grace of healing in one Spirit: to another, the working of miracles: to another, prophecy: to another, the discerning of spirits: to another,* the grace of *tongues: to another, interpretation of speeches. But all these things one and the same Spirit worketh, dividing to every one according as he will.* The Holy Ghost is a great Husbandman, but He abhorreth barren fields. Root ye out of your hearts those unprofitable weeds, *fornication, uncleanness,* covetousness, *immodesty, luxury, idolatry, witchcrafts, enmities, contentions, emulations, wraths, quarrels, dissensions,* heresies, *sects, envies, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like. Of the which I foretel you, as I have foretold to you, that they who do such things shall not obtain the kingdom of God. Know ye not,* saith the Apostle, *that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, whom you have from God, and who dwelleth in you?* Fear ye, therefore, to grieve the Holy Spirit, since *the Holy Spirit flees from the deceitful, and departs from thoughts that are without understanding.* Keep alive, therefore, in yourselves *charity, joy, peace, patience, longanimity, goodness, benignity, mildness, faith, modesty, continency, chastity.* Brethren, all your sins are written in the book of reckoning, to be rehearsed before the face of the God who shall judge you in the sight of all eyes. Keep

Gal. v. 19—23.

See 1 Cor. vi. 19.

Wisdom i. 5.

Gal. v. 22, 23.

[e] The word in the Vulgate is *genera*, but the copyist has written gra for gna, misled by the *gratia sanitatum* above.

[f] *avariciam.* This is inserted by Herbert. It has no place in the Vulgate. It is somewhat remarkable that, in the catalogue of the works of the flesh, covetousness should not find a place *eo nomine;* it is, however, included under idolatry, for we are told (Col. iii. 5) that covetousness is idolatry.

[g] Herbert has inserted the word *hereses*, which has no representative in the Vulgate. The word used in the Vulgate to represent the Greek αἱρέσεις is *sectæ*. Heresies and sects are of course closely connected, the self-willed choosing of new-fangled doctrines leading naturally to divisions in the Church.

vate paraclitum spiritum. eumque constituite procuratorem cogitacionum.[h] et omnium actionum vestrarum. Clemens est spiritus sanctus. et ipsa patris et filii dulcedo et misericordia. qui cum eodem patre et filio in ejusdem substancie natura. vivit et regnat unus et verus deus. per omnia sæcula sæculorum amen.

[h] *procuratorem cogitacionum.* *Procurator*, as applied to the Holy Spirit, is an interesting word. It signifies one who has the management of any business committed to him by another, an attorney in law, a steward in

alive within you then, well beloved, the Paraclete, which is the Spirit, and give Him the ordering of your thoughts, and of all your actions. Gracious and pitiful is the Holy Ghost; nay, He is the very sweetness and mercy of the Father and the Son, who with the same Father and the Son, in the nature of the same substance, liveth and reigneth one only and true God, for ever and ever. Amen.

domestic administration, a provincial governor. We are to give the Holy Spirit the oversight, management, administration of our whole spiritual œconomy and life.

X.

In red letters.

SERMO

IN NATIVITATE SANCTI JOHANNIS.

FUIT in diebus herodis regis iudeæ. sacerdos quidam nomine zacharias de vice abia. et uxor illi de filiabus aaron. et nomen ejus elizabet (*sic*). Narraturus beatus evangelista lucas. divini verbi incarnationis sacramenta.[a] convenienter præmittit. sui præcursoris annunciationem. conceptionem. nativitatem. vitam. et mortem. ut ex ejus prædicatione clara fierent quæ sequerentur de salvatore. Premittit et iudeorum statum. et iudaicarum conversionem rerum. et festinare pronunciat omnium futuram redemptionem populorum. Fuit inquit in diebus herodis regis iudeæ. Herodes iste filius antipatri nullam sanguinis cum iudeis communionem habebat. vir arabs. et qui

[a] See the note on Herbert's use of the word *Sacramentum*, III. (v.) p. 24.

[b] The Festival of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist falls on the 24th of June, for two reasons, the one historical, the other mystical. First, he was six months older than our Lord, and his birth, therefore, falls six months before Christmas. Secondly, (this is the reason assigned by St. Augustine (Hom. 287)) from St. John's Day the days decrease in length, whereas from Christmas Day they increase, according to that word of the Baptist's, "He must increase, and I must decrease." The Decollation of St. John the Baptist, which appears as a black-letter day in our Calendar for the 29th of August, seems to be a later Festival than that of his Nativity, since St. Augustine accounts for the custom of observing his birth and not his martyrdom, as if no other Festival in his honour had been at that time established. In the case of other saints, the day of the martyrdom is solemnized as being that of their entry upon eternal life; but the miraculous character of the Baptist's birth, and the circumstance of his having while in embryo heralded our Lord, give the preference in his

X.

A SERMON

ON THE FESTIVAL OF THE NATIVITY OF ST. JOHN [b].

There was in the days of Herod the king of Judea, a certain priest named Zacharÿ, of the course of Abia, and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name Elizabeth. St. Luke i. 5. The blessed Evangelist Luke, being about to rehearse the mysteries of the Incarnation of the Divine Word, fitly begins by telling of the annunciation, conception, nativity, life and death of His forerunner, so that from his preaching the things that should follow concerning the Saviour might be made plain. He begins also by mentioning the estate of the Jews [c], and declares that the redemption of all the nations which had been foretold was hastening on [d]. *There was,* says he, *in the days of Herod, the king of Judea.* This Herod, a son of Antipater, was no kinsman by blood to the Jews; he was an Arabian [e],

case to the day of his nativity. He was a favourite saint in this country, upwards of three hundred and ninety churches being dedicated to him. [See Blunt's Annotated Book of Common Prayer, Minor Holidays of August.]

[c] By "the change which had come to pass in the affairs of the Jews," we suppose he means their reduction by Pompey to be Roman tributaries. The texts of St. Luke which indicate this change are; "there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed" (ch. ii. 1), and "Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa . . . . . the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness," (ch. iii. 1, 2).

[d] The passage alluded to is probably, "Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people." (St. Luke ii. 10.)

[e] "Arabian." Both Ambrose and Bede (authors whom Herbert would be likely to follow), in their commentaries upon St. Luke, make Herod to have been an Idumæan; but since Petra, the capital of the Idumæans,

sceptrum et iudeorum ducatus potestatem a Ro-
f. 231 b. manis acceperat. ad quos israeletici* (*sic*) populi
libertas et potestas omnino translata erat. Ab
iis herodes iudeorum principatum acceperat. et
ir spurius[f] et alienigena abrahemitis imperabat.
Jnde moyses ille legislator primus dixerat. Non
uferetur sceptrum de iuda. et dux de femoribus
jus donec veniat qui mittendus est. et ipse erit
xpectacio gentium. Ligans ad vineam pullum
uum. et ad vitem o fili mi asinam suam. La-
abit vino stolam suam. et in sanguine uve
allium suum. Pulchriores sunt oculi ejus vino.
: dentes ejus lacte candidiores. Item daniel.
cito ergo et animadverte ab exitu sermonis. ut
erum edificetur ierusalem. usque ad Christum
ucem ebdomades. vii. et ebdomades septuaginta
uæ. et rursus edificabitur platea. et muri in
ngustia temporum. et post ebdomadas septu-
ginta duas occidetur Christus. et non erit[g] po-
ulus qui eum negaturus est et civitatem et sanc-
tarium dissipabit populus cum duce venturo.
: finis ejus vastitas. et post finem belli statuta
esolatio. Conversis itaque et contritis iudeorum
bus. præcursor. et præcursoris dominus præ-
ntiabantur affuturi.* qui et iudeorum reliquias

s the chief town of Arabia Petræa, Herbert is quite correct in calling
erod an Arabian. Cypros, the wife of Antipater and the mother of
erod the Great, is called by Josephus an Arabian. Ant. XIV. vii. 3.

[f] *spurius*. It does not appear that Herod was *spurius* in the sense
illegitimate, but the word is sometimes used vaguely, simply to denote
person of foreign extraction. Thus it is twice applied to Goliath in the
ulgate translation of 1 Sam. (ch. xvii, 4, 23), where our Authorized
anslation has the word *champion*, and the Septuagint μεσαῖος.

[g] Herbert has left out *ejus* after *erit*, which would make the sense *shall not be his*.

and had received the sceptre and authority of a captain[h] over the Jews from the Romans, unto whom the liberty of the people of Israel, and the power over them, had been wholly transferred. From these Herod had received the principality of the Jews, and an alien, and a man of another blood, was governing the children of Abraham. Whence Moses, that first lawgiver, had said[i], *The sceptre shall not be taken away from Juda,* Gen. xlix. 10—12. *nor a ruler from his* thighs, *till he come that is to be sent, and he shall be the expectation of nations. Tying his foal to the vineyard, and his ass, O my son, to the vine. He shall wash his robe* with *wine, and his garment in the blood of the grape. His eyes are more beautiful than wine, and his teeth whiter than milk.* Also Daniel: *Know thou therefore, and take notice:* Dan. ix. 25, 26. *that from the going forth of the word to build up Jerusalem again, unto Christ the prince, there shall be seven weeks, and* seventy-*two*[k] *weeks: and the street shall be built again, and the walls in straitness of times. And after* seventy-*two weeks Christ shall be slain: and the people that shall deny him shall not be. And a people with their leader that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary: and the end thereof shall be waste, and after the end of the war the appointed desolation.* So, when the affairs of the Jews were changed and brought to ruin, the forerunner, and the Lord of the forerunner, were fore-announced as about to present themselves,

[h] *Ducatus.* This word is found several times in the Vulgate, once in 2 Esdr. (Nehemiah) v. 18, twice in the Apocrypha (Ecclus. vii. 4; 2 Mach. x. 29), and once in St. Matthew's Gospel, "si cæcus cæco ducatum præstet," (xv. 14). The original meaning of it is of course military leadership. Herod the Great received the government of Galilee when he was only fifteen years old, and was appointed one of the tetrarchs of Judæa by Antony in B.C. 41. The next year he fled to Rome, where he was appointed by the Senate King of Judæa. He is called *rex* Judææ in St. Luke i. 5, and *tetrarcha Galileæ* in St. Luke iii. 1 and 19.

[i] "had said." Strictly speaking, Moses did not say this, but wrote it. The words are those of Jacob, which Moses records.

[k] Either Herbert or his copyist has made a mistake here. The original has *sixty*-two weeks. The blunder is repeated lower down.

colligerent. et tocius nationes orbis. ad veritatis cognitionem convocarent. Sacerdos quidam nomine zacharias. Magnus vir zacharias. cujus nominis noticiam (*sic*) ipsos etiam angelos non lateret; De vice abia. Iam fratres per vicarios legale scindebatur sacerdotium. ut liquido constaret. ei finem et ruinam imminere. cujus unitatis integritas in partibus dividebatur. Et uxor illi de filiabus aaron. Nominatur prosapiæ claritas. ut quasi ingenita matrone puditicia (*sic*)

[1] There is something observable here, in Herbert's accounting it a distinction and mark of greatness that a man's name should be known to the angels. We presume that the phrase, "knowing the name," must be taken in the same sense as that in which it is used by the Almighty when He says to Moses, "I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight" (Exod. xxxiii. 12); and in which the Good Shepherd calls his own sheep by their name (St. John x. 3). The meaning is, that holy men are in the especial favour of, and in constant intercourse with, holy angels, as they are with God. We subjoin some beautiful remarks from the Sermons of the Rev. C. E. Kennaway, in which, however, he understands the knowledge which the angels have of our names in the literal and ordinary sense, and not in the sense of a special distinction attaching to some persons above others. "It was at the ninth hour of the day, or at about three o'clock, that the shining messenger came to him [Cornelius]. He addressed him by name; his first word was, 'Cornelius.' You see from this, brethren, that our earthly names are known in heaven. It is not granted to us to know more than one or two of the angels' names, those of Michael and Gabriel; but our names are all known to them. But if they are known in heaven, are they not often mentioned, often talked of there? Do not the angels speak of us under our earthly names? Do they not converse about our conduct? Do they not sing together in joy when we conquer our enemies? Do they not sadden, and if tears be shed in heaven, do they not weep together when we are overcome? And is it then so, that the angels do indeed converse about our conduct? Is it so, that the bright beings who people heaven, feel an interest in us and in our concerns? If it be so, what effect should the thought have upon us? Should it not make us feel a deep sense of the value of a heavenly reputation? Should it not help us in setting up a heavenly, an angelic standard of thought and of conduct? Do not be so anxious, brethren, about the opinions of men. Consider what it is that angels say of you, what it is that the God of heaven thinks of you!" ["Sermons at Cheltenham," (London, 1842,) Serm. XVIII. Memorials in Heaven, p. 328.]

who should both gather together the remnant of the Jews, and should call the nations of the whole world to the knowledge of the Truth. *There was a certain priest named Zachary.* A great man was this Zachary, the knowledge of whose name was not hidden from the angels themselves[l]. *Of the course of Abia.* At this time, brethren, the priesthood of the Law was divided among the priests who ministered by courses serving in turn, that it might be made evident that the end and ruin thereof was at hand, inasmuch as its unity was broken up into parts[m]. *And his wife was of the daughters of Aaron*[n]. Mention is made of the nobleness of her kindred, in order that her modesty, which the matron inherited as it were from her birth, might be

[m] "its unity was broken up into parts." We fear that this will hardly hold, when it is remembered that the division of the priests into twenty-four courses was made by David. The course of Abia was the eighth of the twenty-four courses into which the priests were divided by that king. See 1 Chron. xxiv. 10, and 2 Chron. viii. 14. "On the return from the captivity, there were found but four courses out of the twenty-four, each containing in round numbers about a thousand (Ezra ii. 36, 39). Out of these, however, to revive at least the idea of the old organization, the four-and-twenty courses were re-constituted, bearing the same names as before, and so continued until the destruction of Jerusalem." (Smith's Dict. of the Bible, s.v. PRIEST.) The division, therefore, of the priests is not to be taken as any indication that the Levitical dispensation was waxing old, and ready to vanish away. The moral lesson, if any, to be drawn from the arrangement is, that in the worship of God all things should be done decently and in order. *Vicarius* means simply a priest who fulfils a *vicis* or turn; the word occurs but once in the Vulgate (Lev. xxiv. 18), where it is used of a beast given by one man to another in compensation for one which had been killed; "He that killeth a beast shall make it good, beast for beast" ("Qui percusserit animal reddet vicarium, id est, animam pro anima"). Zacharias is called *vicarius*, as "sacerdotio fungens in ordine *vicis* suæ ante Deum."

[n] S. Ambrose's comment on this passage is: "The nobility of St. John the Baptist then was derived not from his parents only, but from his remote ancestors. It was not secular power which made him eminent, but a religious succession which made him venerable. It was meet that the herald of Christ should have such ancestors, in order that the faith in the Lord's advent which he preached might seem to be not so much suddenly conceived in his own mind, as received from his ancestors, and infused into him by the right of natural descent." (St. Ambros. ed. Bened. tom. i. Expos. Evang. St. Luc. col. 1271.)

ejus intelligatur. Unde et subditur. Erant autem justi ambo ante deum. incedentes in omnibus mandatis et justificationibus Domini sine querela[o]; Maxima laus. et quam nostris temporibus nemo consequitur. Quis enim est qui non noceat fratri? aut qui non accuset proximum? ecce ut ait apostolus lites et contentiones inter vós. timeo ne sine causa laboraverim in vobis. Iacet evangelica sanctio[p]. et errantium calcibus divina pagina[q] conculcatur; Sic enim sacrum evangelium. Quod tibi vis fieri. alii ne (sic) feceris; Et alibi. Que vultis ut faciant homines vobis. et vos eadem facite illis; His zacharias et helisabet vacabant. et totius cordis complectebantur visceribus; Unde nullorum accusantium eos sequebatur querimonia. Et non erat illis filius. eo quod esset helisabet sterilis. et ambo processissent in diebus suis; Steriles erant et provectæ ætatis. ut nove conceptionis miraculum tanto fieret excellentius. quanto inpossibilius videbatur. Sorte exiit. ut incensum poneret. in-

f. 231 b, col. 2.

It should evidently be '*non vis*,' but the scribe has omitted the *non*.

[o] *sine querela.* It is evident that Herbert understood *sine querela* to mean not so much blameless before God, as free from fault-finding and accusation of others, at peace with all men. The Latin translation, *sine querela*, has led him, not unnaturally, into this view of the meaning. The original word, however, is ἄμεμπτος, a word used exclusively by St. Luke and St. Paul (on the supposition that the Epistle to the Hebrews was St. Paul's). See Luke i. 6; Phil. ii. 15, iii. 6; 1 Thess. ii. 10, iii. 13, v. 23; and Heb. viii. 7. The meaning is not so much free from fault-finding, as free from having any fault found with them.

[p] The word *sanctio* does not occur in the Vulgate Translation of the Scriptures. Properly speaking, it signifies that part of a law which gives the law its efficacy, its *sanction*, or the penalty annexed to the violation of it. Hence it comes to mean any law solemnly established and promulgated. Ducange gives an instance from mediæval Latin, in which the Ten Commandments are called "sanctiones Majestatis," that is, solemnly promulgated statutes of the Divine Majesty.

understood. Whence it is added; *They were both just before God, walking in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord without blame.* A great praise, and one to which in our times no one attaineth; for who is there [now-a-days] who doth not injure his brother, or who doth not bring an accusation against his neighbour? *Behold,* as saith the Apostle, *there be strifes and contentions among you*[r]. . . . *I am afraid lest I have laboured in vain among you.* The statutes of the Gospel are thrown down, and the page which was written by inspiration of God is trodden under foot of those who err in their ways. For thus saith the Holy Gospel; *Do not to another that which thou wouldest not should be done to thyself*[s]. And elsewhere; *Whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them.* Zacharias and Elizabeth then gave themselves wholly unto these things, and embraced them with all the affection of their hearts. Whence it came to pass that no complaint was laid against them by any who accused them[t].

St. Luke i. 6.

See 1 Cor. i. 11. Gal. iv. 11.

See St. Matt. vii. 12.

St. Matt. vii. 12.

And they had no son, for that Elizabeth was barren, and they both were well advanced in years, in order that the miracle of this new conception might be all the more excellent, by how much the more impossible it seemed to be[u]. *It was his lot to offer incense,*

St. Luke i. 7.

St. Luke i. 9.

[q] *Pagina* is a word not found in the Vulgate. Herbert here uses a vigorous figure of high-handed transgression of the Divine Law, as being a treading under foot of the pages of the Bible. Ducange gives an instance from the poems of St. Paulinus, in which the Ten Commandments are called *leges sacri quas servat pagina saxi.*

[r] Herbert seems here to have had another text floating in his mind besides Gal. iv. 11, namely, 1 Cor. i. 11: "Contentiones sunt inter vos," (there are contentions among you).

[s] This is what may be called a loose conversational rendering of the precept in St. Matt. vii. 12, just as we might say, "Do to others as you would be done by." Herbert represents it as a distinct text.

[t] Here Herbert seems to fall back upon the truer notion of the word ἄμεμπτος, "not found fault with by others." There can be no doubt that the two features of character are closely connected, to find no fault with others being the surest way to exempt one's self from blame.

[u] Bede says upon this verse; "It was divinely arranged that St. John

gressus in templum domini. Sorte exiit. quoniam videlicet gratia contigit. ut iis orationes populi deo deferret. et angelicam visionem promereretur. qui sine querela inter homines vivebat. Apparuit autem illi angelus domini. stans a dextris altaris incensi. A dextris angelus stabat. qui futuram conceptionem præcursoris omnipotentis judicis prædicabat. Ne timeas zacharia quoniam exaudita est oratio[x] tua. Quid est fratres? Nunquid zacharias a deo postulaverat filium. qui pro totius populi peccatis offerebat incensum? ingressus in templum domini? Absit hoc a tanto propheta. et tanti prophetæ patre futuro. Sed in iohanne? salus promittebatur fidelium. eorum videlicet qui ejus baptismo mundandi. et doctrina fuerant illuminandi. Et uxor tua elisabet pariet tibi filium. et vocabis nomen
f. 232. ejus iohannem. Pariet sterilis. et infans vocabitur iohannes. ut intelligas non esse naturæ

should be born of parents at an advanced age, who had long been childless, in order that the unexpected gift of offspring might render them the more grateful; and that, as to other people, the wonder of the miracle might prepare their hearts for listening to the future prophet. Doubtless all who heard of it, laid it up in their hearts, saying, What manner of child shall hat be."

[x] Herbert has here the word *oratio*, which appears to us better than the *leprecatio* of the Vulgate. *Deprecatio* originally means prayer against ome impending evil or calamity; but in the Sacramentaries, and frequently in mediæval Latin, it means simply urgent prayer, as prayer gainst a calamity is wont to be.

[y] So far as we can understand Herbert's view, he is of opinion that Zacharias had prayed not merely for a son, but with the expectation, which no doubt all pious parents among the Jews cherished, that his offspring might be, if not Messiah Himself, some one nearly connected with Messiah. And this we venture to think is the true view. We cannot believe that at a period when pious Jews must have been aware that Daniel's seventy weeks were drawing to an end, and when even among the Gentiles the idea was prevalent that a universal empire should rise out of Judæa,

going into the temple of the Lord. His lot. For he had obtained grace to offer unto God the prayers of the people for them; and he who lived among men without blame was recompensed by the vision of an angel. *And there appeared to him an Angel of the Lord, standing on the right side of the altar of incense.* On the right hand the angel was standing, who announced the conception of the forerunner of the Almighty Judge, which should [shortly] come to pass. *Fear not, Zachary, for thy prayer is heard.* St. Luke i. 13. How is this, brethren? had Zacharias, who, having gone into the temple of the Lord, was offering incense for the sins of the whole people, besought the Lord to give him a son? Far be this from so great a prophet, and from him who should be the father of so great a prophet[y]. But in John there was promised to Zachary the salvation of the faithful, that is to say, of those who should be cleansed by his baptism and enlightened by his doctrine. *And thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John.* St. Luke i. 13. She who is barren shall bear, and the babe shall be called John[z], that thou mayest understand that whatsoever cometh to pass concerning John

parents like Zacharias and Elizabeth would pray simply for offspring, without associating in their petitions the glorious hopes of their nation. Ambrose, however, without saying explicitly that Zacharias's prayer had been simply for offspring, almost implies it by the observation, that God answered the prayer (according to His wont) by an excess of blessings which went far beyond it. See his Expos. Evang. St. Luc. tom. i. col. 1276 A.

[z] John is the shortened form of the word Johanan, יְהוֹחָנָן (Yeho-khanan) the grace or favour of Jehovah. Bede, after saying that it is an indication of singular merit when God gives a man a name or changes a name, and quoting in proof of this the names of Abraham, Israel, and Josiah, then continues, "John signifies by interpretation, he in whom is grace, or the Lord's grace. By which name is signified in the first place, that to his parents such grace was given that a son was born to them when broken with age. Secondly, that grace should be given to John himself, who would be great before the Lord, and would be enriched with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb. Finally, that grace should be bestowed upon the children of Israel, whom he would convert to the Lord their God."

sed gratiæ. quicquid de iohanne factum est. Et erit tibi gaudium et exultatio. et multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt. Res vera. et cunctis nota etatibus. In nativitate iohannis gaudent Christiani. gaudent iudei. gaudent et pagani. et nemo est qui confiteatur creatorem. qui in nativitate iohannis non exultet. Et ipse præcedet ante illum in spiritu et virtute heliæ. ut convertat corda patrum in filios. et incredulos ad prudentiam iustorum. Parare domino plebem perfectam. Non credatis fratres karissimi. in primo adventu domini spiritum helie translatum fuisse in iohannem. quomodo nec in secundo adventu spiritum iohannis transferendum fore in heliam. sed consimilem gratiam utrisque fuisse et fore. ut quomodo iohannes in primo salvatoris adventu multos filiorum israel convertit ad fidem. ita et helias in secundo. totam iudeorum massam[a] collecturus est ad pietatem. et ad veritatis agnitionem. Quia non credidisti verbis oris mei. eris tacens. et non poteris loqui usque ad diem nativitatis ejus. Punitur incredulitas. et lingua ligatur zacharie. ut eo senex (*sic*) anxii tanto

[a] The word *massa* is often used in the Vulgate, but always in the proper sense of a lump, of dough, figs, pitch, &c., never in that of a collection of people. In classical writers, too, it seems to be always applied to inanimate masses, as of metal, &c. Ducange tells us that in the times of persecution there was a pit at Carthage filled with quicklime, into which the Christians who refused sacrifice to Pagan deities were precipitated. The place was called *massa candida*, and this phrase was applied by Prudentius to the victims when covered with the quicklime. "Their bodies," he says, "are covered with white, and whiteness," (*candor* = purity,) "carries their affections to things above, whence they deserve in all ages to be designated *candida massa*, the white mass."

[b] "heathens rejoice." Christ is said to be the desire of all nations by Haggai (ii. 7), and it was predicted (Gen. xlix. 10) that unto Him should

is not of nature but of grace. *And thou shalt have joy and gladness, and many shall rejoice in his nativity.* St. Luke i. 14. A true saying, verily, and one the truth of which hath been approved in all ages. At the birth of John Christians rejoice, Jews rejoice, nay, even heathens rejoice[b]; neither is there any who confesseth the Creator, who doth not rejoice at the birth of John. *And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias; that he may turn the hearts of the fathers unto the children, and the incredulous to the wisdom of the just, to prepare unto the Lord a perfect people.* St. Luke i. 17. Think not, well beloved brethren, that at the first coming of the Lord the spirit of Elias was transferred unto John, nor in like manner that the spirit of John shall be transferred unto Elias at the second coming of the Lord. But ye shall understand of both of them, that the one did obtain, the other shall obtain, the like grace; that as John, at the first coming of the Saviour, turned many of the children of Israel unto the Faith, so also shall Elias[c], at His second coming, gather together unto godliness and unto the knowledge of the truth, the whole body of the Jewish people.

Because thou hast not believed the words of *My* mouth, *thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be able to speak until the day* of his birth. St. Luke i. 20. Thus unbelief is punished, and the tongue of Zacharias is bound, that old men anxiously looking [for redemption] might be made the

the gathering of the people be. Archbishop Trench has shewn, in his Hulsean Lectures ("The Unconscious Prophecies of Heathenism"), that there were among the Gentiles yearnings for, and expectations of, the Redeemer long before His Advent; and these yearnings and expectations would no doubt rise to a climax as the period of the Advent drew near. At that time the old Pagan faiths were being disintegrated, and losing their hold more and more, at all events upon the influential classes of society. Thus was prepared the way for a faith which should be founded in truth, and a hope which should not disappoint. The birth of the Redeemer's forerunner therefore may be said without any unreal rhetoric to have sent a thrill of joy through the heathen world, and as the first token of this thrill of joy we have the advent of the Magi to offer their homage at the feet of the Infant Saviour.

[c] See Sermon II. note a, p. 64.

efficerentur letiores? quanto gloriosius in nativitate filii et pater linguam et mater recepisset fecunditatem. Nascitur itaque iohannes de iustis parentibus. et congratulaturi conveniunt amici. et fit magnum gaudium in domo zacharie. et super omnia montana iudee divulgabantur omnia verba hæc; De isto iohanne fratres karissimi psalmista cecinerat; Paravi lucernam Christo meo; Iohannes quippe lucerna erat. et Christus lux; Lucerna lux est in testa. quia iohannes ex
f. 232, col. 2. Christo et Christus* ex se non ex iohanne lucebat. Unde evangelium; fuit inquit homo missus a deo. cui nomen erat iohannes. Hic venit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine; Non erat ille lux? set ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat lux vera. que illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. In mundo erat. et mundus per ipsum factus est. et mundus eum non cognovit; Item de iohanne isaias. Vox inquit clammantis (*sic*) in deserto. parate viam domini. rectas facite semitas ejus. omnis vallis implebitur. et omnis mons et collis humiliabitur. et erunt prava in directa? et aspera in vias planas. Nostis fratres mei. quia vox præcedit verbum. et audientium

[d] It is observable how Herbert calls off attention from the aspect of the dumbness as a punishment, to its other aspect as designed to furnish by its removal an additional joy in store for the day of his son's circumcision. There was another aspect of it, which Ambrose (*in loc.*) has beautifully brought out, as symbolical of the silence of priest and prophet when prophecy is about to be fulfilled in Christ, and the offerings of the Law abolished by His perfect sacrifice.

* It is to be regretted that in our Authorized Version of St. John (v. 35) the words are not more accurately translated. They should be, "He

gladder, by how much the more glorious it was, that in the birth of a son the father should receive his voice and the mother fruitfulness[d]. Thus, then, is John born of righteous parents, and their friends come together to rejoice with them, and there is great joy in the house of Zachary; and over all the hill country of Judea all these words were noised abroad. Of that John, dearly beloved brethren, the Psalmist had sung, *I have prepared a lamp for my anointed*[e]; that is to say, John was a lamp, and Christ was the light. A lamp is a light in an earthen vessel, because John shone by the light of Christ, and Christ shone from His own light, and not from that of John. Whence saith the Gospel, *There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. This man came for a witness, to give testimony of the light. . . He was not the light, but was to give testimony of the light. That was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not.*

See St. Luke i. 65.

Ps. cxxxi. 17 (Douay)

St. John i. 6—11.

Furthermore, of this John Isaiah speaketh; *The voice,* saith he, *of one crying in the desert: Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight* His *paths. Every valley shall be* filled, *and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall become straight, and the rough ways plain.* Ye know, my brethren, that a voice goeth before a word[f], and the ears of those who hear would

Isaiah xl. 3, 4.

was that burning and shining lamp," the article indicating that he was the greatest of the prophets, and the prophet who was himself predicted. "All the prophets were lamps (λύχνοι); but Christ is the light itself (τὸ φῶς). He is the true light—the light of the world, from which these lamps were kindled; and when the light shone forth in the full lustre of mighty words and deeds, then the lamps disappeared," (Aug. quoted by Bp. Wordsworth on St. John v. 35). The Hebrew word for a lamp in the verse quoted by Herbert is נֵר (*nayr*), which is generally used of the seven lamps of the golden candlestick.

[f] "a voice goeth before a word." This idea is derived from St. Gregory, [in Evangg. lib. i. Hom. vii. tom. i. col. 1457 E., col. 1458 A., ed. Bened.]: "Who he is, he forthwith expresses when he rejoins, I am the voice of one crying in the desert. Ye know, dearly beloved brethren, that the only

non verberarentur aures? nisi proferentium præcederent voces. Ita iohannes præco ante judicem. servus ante dominum. paranimphus ante sponsum. et miles præcessit ante imperatorem; Unde dominus de eo convenienter protestatur; Inter natos inquit mulierum non surrexit maior iohanne baptista. qui autem minor est in regno cœlorum? major est illo; Difficile fratres enigma. et inscrutabile nostre exiguitati. nisi spiritus sanctus assit. et vestre mentes suspendantur ad intelligendum. Num fratres? iohanne major est abel qui plurimam hostiam offerens. primus claro terram purpuravit martirio? Num major enoch? qui ambulavit cum deo. et ultra non apparuit? Num major noe qui inter cataclismi inundationes et tumentes usque ad cœlos fluctus archam rexit. et omnium animantium semina conservavit? Num majores patriarhcæ (*sic*) abraham videlicet. isaac. et iacob? ex quibus iudei. et tota illa iudaici populi massa[g] exorta est? Num iohanne moyses major ille legislator. dux israelitici populi. consultor dei. videns deum facie ad faciem. eique loquens sicut amicus loquitur
f. 232 b. amico suo? Postremo num iohanne salvator major. qui peccatum non fecit. nec inventus est

begotten Son is called the Word of the Father, on the testimony of St. John [the Evangelist], who saith, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. And from your own speech ye know that first a voice soundeth, in order that afterwards a word may be heard. John therefore asserted himself to be a voice, because a voice precedeth a word. Therefore, he being the precursor of our Lord's advent, is called a voice; because through his ministry the Word of the Father is heard by men."

[g] See p. 284, note a in this Sermon.

not be beaten upon, except the voices of those who utter words had gone before. John, therefore, went before, as a herald before a judge, as a servant before his lord, as the friend of the bridegroom before the bridegroom himself, and as a soldier before his captain. Whence the Lord fitly maketh this protestation concerning him, *Among them that are born of women*, saith he, *there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is the lesser in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.* St. Matt. xi. 11.

A difficult and dark saying, brethren, and unsearchable by our feeble understanding, unless the Holy Spirit be present with us, and your minds meanwhile be very attentive to understand [h]. Was not [i] Abel, my brethren, greater than John, who, while offering many sacrifices, was the first to make red the earth with noble martyrdom? Was not Enoch greater, who walked with God, so that he was not found, [for God took him]? See Heb. xi. 5. Was not Noah greater, who amid the overflowings of the flood, and the waves which swelled as high as heaven, governed the ark, and preserved the seed of all living creatures? Were not the Patriarchs greater, to wit, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from whom sprang the Jews, and the whole [vast] body of the Jewish people? Was not Moses greater than John,—that lawgiver and leader of the children of Israel, he who took counsel with God, and saw the Lord face to face, and spake unto him as a friend speaketh unto his friend? Finally, was not our Saviour, who did no sin, neither Exod. xxxiii. 11; Num. xii. 8. Deut. xxxiv. 10.

[h] We have similar observations previously from Herbert, where hard texts of Scripture are to be interpreted by him, and we cannot but think them much to his credit. Here, particularly, the two conditions of receiving an explanation of spiritual difficulties are clearly laid down,—the assistance of the Holy Spirit on God's part, and the attention and effort to understand on man's.

[i] "Not." The tenor of the passage seems to demand that it shall be thus translated; but Herbert's words are, *Num, fratres, Iohanne major est Abel?* and throughout the interrogations *Num* is continued. To *num* a negative answer is always expected; and we can only suppose that Herbert has here written *num* by mistake for *annon*.

dolus in ore ejus? At dicetis. Iohannes natus est de muliere. Christus de virgine. Certe fratres. et virgo mulier est. non corruptione libidinis. sed sue (*sic*) sexus natura; Unde veritas in evangelio; Mulier. ecce filius tuus; Ad discipulum autem. ecce mater tua; Ubi sunt iohannis miracula? Ihesus filius num. solem stare fecit. et tante volubilitatis refrenavit rapacitatem. unumque diem? extendit in duobus. Pretenditis iohannis abstinentiam. nuditatem. temporalium rerum neglectum. pudiciciam. conversationem in heremo. sed helias primus anachorita fuit. et igneo curru raptus? communem evasit mortem; Occubuit pro veritate iohannes. sed totus mundus nostrorum martirum cruoribus exundat. Quomodo igitur nati mulierum non majores iohanne. qui majora exercuerunt opera. et majori remunerantur triumpho? Iohannes apud sebasten sepultus

[k] As it is said in St. John x. 41, "John did no miracle." In one respect however this very circumstance of John's having wrought no miracle would make him more illustrious than prophets who had. For miracles are instruments of gaining a moral and spiritual hold upon the generation in whose sight they are wrought. That John gained such a moral and spiritual hold is quite clear. He turned the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, and wrought a national reformation. If similar spiritual effects were wrought by the instrumentality of Moses and Elijah, in their case they must be largely discounted by the reflexion that they worked from the vantage-ground of miraculous power.

[l] *Sebaste.* Sebaste (= Augusta), was the name given to Samaria by Herod the Great, in honour of his imperial patron Augustus, who granted the city to him upon the death of Antony and Cleopatra. Thenceforth the city became a Roman city; and that its new name was Greek and not Latin, is due to the fact that, although Rome was mistress of the world at that time, Greek was the language of the educated and refined. But how shall we account for Herbert's discrepancy with Josephus, who says distinctly (Ant., lib. xviii. cap. v. sect. 2) that John the Baptist was imprisoned and put to death at Machærus (a strong fortress of Perea)? In

was guile found in His mouth, greater than John? But ye will say; "Nay; but John was born of a woman, Christ of a virgin." Yea, my brethren; and a virgin is a woman, not, indeed, by the corruption of lust, but by the nature of her sex. Whence saith the Truth in the Gospel, *Woman, behold thy son.* And to the disciple, *Behold thy mother.*

See 1 Pet. ii. 22, and Isa. liii. 9.

St. John xix. 26, 27.

Where be the miracles of John[k]? Jesus the son of Nun made the sun to stand still, and restrained the exceeding swiftness wherewith it turneth about, and lengthened out one day into two. Ye allege the abstinence of John, his nakedness, his neglecting of things temporal, his chastity, his way of life in the wilderness. But Elias was the first hermit; and he, being caught up [to heaven] with a chariot of fire, escaped the common lot of death. John, indeed, fell on behalf of the truth; but the whole world overfloweth with the blood of our martyrs. How, then, can it be said that they who, being born of women, wrought greater works, and were recompensed by a nobler triumph than he, were not greater than John? John was buried at Sebaste[l], and

See Joshua x. 13.

the first place, there are difficulties in the statement of Josephus, which it is not easy to surmount. He himself says (Ant., lib. xviii. cap. v. sect. 1), that Machærus belonged at that time to Aretas, king of Arabia, father-in-law of Herod, and that Herod at the time had a quarrel with Aretas, on account of his guilty passion for his brother Philip's wife. This (as the Rev. George Williams remarks in Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography) presents an insuperable difficulty to a reception of Josephus's statement that Machærus was the place of the Baptist's martyrdom; for suffering, as he did in one view, as a martyr for the conjugal rights of the daughter of Aretas, it is impossible to believe that Herod had power to order his execution in that fortress. But, whatever may be the historical truth as to the place of the Baptist's imprisonment and execution, Herbert would speak of the subject in conformity with the views current among mediæval divines. And these views are represented by Bede (in Marc. Evang. cap. vi.); "Josephus tells us that John was bound and carried away to the castle of Machærus, and there slain. Ecclesiastical history says that he was buried in Sebaste, a city of Palestine, which was formerly called Samaria; but that in the time of the Emperor Julian, the pagans, from a grudge against the Christians, who used to frequent his sepulchre with devout observance, made an attack upon the monument, scattered his bones about the fields, and collecting them

est. et herodes (*sic*) gladio decollatus? inter ceteros sanctos sua in mansione[m] requiescit; Verumtamen clamat veritas; Inter natos mulierum. non surrexit major iohanne baptista. qui autem minor est in regno celorum? major est illo; Gravis ut prædiximus questio. et solutio difficilis; Sed agentes de lucerna præsumamus de luce. et propositam aggrediamur questionem. Dominus lux est. et iohannes lucerna. uterque humilis. sed dominus humillimus; Iohannes formidat solvere corrigiam calciamentorum salvatoris. et cum tantus esset ut Christus putaretur? respondit interrogantibus iudeis. non se esse Christum. neque heliam. neque prophetam. sed vocem clamantis in deserto. et præparantis semitas domini sui; Vir magnus. et revera nullis in humilitate sanctis inferior. excepto salvatore. qui cum in forma dei esset. non rapinam arbitratus est esse se equa-
f. 232 b, col. 2. lem* deo. sed semet ipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens. in similitudinem hominum factus. et habitu inventus ut homo; Sanctus sanctorum ipse est salvator minimus sanctorum. redemptio vide-

again, burnt them, and scattered the ashes over the country; but that there were present at that time certain monks from Jerusalem, who, mixing themselves up among the pagans while they were collecting the bones, contrived to gather the greater part of them, and conveyed them to their father Philip at Jerusalem; and he sent them to the blessed Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, where they were preserved until the times of Theophilus, bishop of the aforesaid city, when by order of the Emperor Theodosius all the idol temples of the nations were destroyed. Then, the temple of Serapis having been purged of its idolatrous defilements, they were translated thither, and instead of the little temple of Serapis, a basilica was consecrated in honour of John. See the eleventh book of the Ecclesiastical History." What Ecclesiastical History Bede refers to we are not able to say. St. Jerome is the first author in which Sebaste is assigned as the place of the Baptist's imprisonment and martyrdom.

having been beheaded with the sword of Herod, he now, amongst the other saints, taketh his rest in his own mansion. Nevertheless the Truth crieth: *Among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is the lesser in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.* St. Matt. xi. 11.

A difficult question, as I said afore, and hard to be answered. But as we are discoursing of the lamp, let us begin with the Light, and thus take in hand the question set before us. The Lord is the Light, and John was the lamp. Both were lowly of mind, but the Lord most lowly. John fears even to loose the latchet of the Saviour's shoes; and albeit he was so great that he was thought to be the Christ, he replied to the Jews who asked him, that he was not the Christ, nor Elias, neither that Prophet, but only the voice of one crying in the wilderness, and preparing the ways of his Lord. A great man, and of a truth inferior to none of the saints in lowliness of mind, save only to the Saviour, *Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but debased himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man.* See St. John viii. 12, and i. 8, 9 (τὸ φῶς), with St. John v. 35 (ὁ λύχνος). St. Mark i. 7; St. Luke iii. 16; St. John i. 27. See St. John i. 20—26. Phil. ii. 6, 7.

The Saint of Saints is the Saviour Himself, who yet is the least of saints, forasmuch as He is the re-

This will be found in his Commentary on Hosea, ch. i. 5: "I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel." There also, according to the same writer, was the Mausoleum of Elisha and of Obadiah.

[m] *sua in mansione.* The word *mansio* is no doubt borrowed from, and designed to be a reference to, *in domo Patris mei mansiones multæ sunt*, "in my Father's house are many mansions." (St. John xiv. 2.) By a curious and yet easy process of thought, the word *mansio* in the Vulgate translation comes to mean "journeys," the connecting idea being, of course, a stopping-place on a journey. See Exodus xvii. 1; Numbers xxxiii. 1. When Herbert speaks of St. John the Baptist resting in his own mansion, we are reminded of the last words of the Book of Daniel, "Thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot unto the end of the days," (c. xii. 13, Douay,) and also of the words of Isaiah's parable against the king of Babylon (c. xiv. 18), "All the kings of the nations have all of them slept in glory, every one in his own house."

licet et precium omnium sanctorum[n]; Hoc uno iohannes inferior est in humilitate. ceteris vero sanctis omnibus superior. vel æqualis in regno celorum; Confitemur. magnus iohannes homo. sed salvator maximus deus et homo. qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat. per omnia sæcula sæculorum. AMEN.

[n] *redemptio videlicet et precium omnium sanctorum.* After Herbert has worked us up to receive his explanation with all intentness, we confess ourselves not altogether able to understand it. We suppose, however, that he means that the Saviour was the least of the saints in regard of His lowly estimate of Himself or His humility, and yet that this very lower estimate sets Him above them all in point of real sanctity. And possibly also there is intended to be some force of this sort in the *videlicet.* A thing which we redeem, is in our eyes of greater value than the price which we gave to redeem it; if the saints are bought with a price, they are in that point of view of greater worth than the price.

We subjoin Jerome's exposition of the passage, which does not however agree with Herbert's, as to the meaning of the *lesser in the kingdom of heaven.* After remarking that John is only preferred to men who are born of women in the ordinary way, and not to Him who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; and also that our Lord's words, literally understood, do not put John above, but only on a level with, preceding prophets and patriarchs, he thus handles the

demption and ransom of all saints. To Him alone was John inferior in humility; but he was superior to all the rest of the saints, or [at least] their equal in the kingdom of heaven. We confess [therefore] that John was a great man, but our Saviour is the greatest of all, being both God and Man, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

difficulty of "the lesser in the kingdom of heaven." "Many," he says, "understand this of the Saviour, because He who is less than John in point of time (that is, as appearing after him), is greater in point of dignity; but let us simply understand that every saint who is now with God is greater than one who is still in the thick of the battle. For it is one thing to possess the crown of victory, another thing to be still fighting in the field." (Comment. in Matt. xi. 11.) And to the same effect Augustine (Serm. lxvi. de verbis Ev. Matt., tom. v. col. 372 E. ed. Bened.): "He means by the kingdom of heaven [the place] where the angels are: he, therefore, who is the least among the angels is greater than John. Thus He hath commended to us the kingdom for which we yearn, thus He hath set before us the heavenly city, whose citizens we desire to be. What kind of citizens are there in that city? how great are they? whoever is the least there is greater than John. Than what John? greater than he than whom no one hath arisen greater, among them that are born of women."

XI.

In red letters.

SERMO

IN FESTIVITATE SANCTI PAULI.

HOMO quidam erat dives qui habebat villicum... et hic diffamatus est apud dominum suum quasi dissipasset bona illius; Homo iste. dominus ac redemptor noster est de quo psalmista canit; Numquid syon dicet homo. et homo natus in ea. et ipse fundavit eam altissimus. Et alibi. Et homo est. et quis cognoscet illum? Et sanctus ieremias; hic inquit est dominus noster. et non estimabitur alius abque (*sic*) eo; Hic adinvenit omnem viam iusticiæ et scientie. et dedit eam

* "The festival of the *conversion* of St. Paul does not appear to have been generally observed until about the twelfth century, although the Collect for it is found in St. Gregory's Sacramentary. It is said [Laterculum of Silvias, A.D. 448] that there was anciently a festival of St. Peter and St. Paul on February 22 (now called *Cathedra Petri*) . . . . but the principal, if not the only, day observed to the honour of St. Paul was that on which St. Peter was associated with him, June 29; although, on the following day, a 'Commemoration of St. Paul' was made, which is marked in the Sarum and Roman Calendars . . . and which, in Menard's edition of St. Gregory's Sacramentary, is called 'Natale S. Pauli.'" (Blunt's "Annotated Book of Common Prayer.")

In this passage Mr. Blunt only states that the Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul was not *generally* observed until about the *twelfth* century, in the commencement of which Herbert lived and wrote; but Alban Butler tells us ("Lives of the Saints," Jan. 25) that "we find" the Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul "mentioned in several Calendars and Missals of the *eighth* and *ninth* centuries," and that Pope Innocent III. (1198—1216) commanded it to be observed with great solemnity. It was for some time kept as a holyday of obligation in most churches in the West; and we find it mentioned as such in England in the Council of Oxford in 1222, in the reign of King Henry III. The Council of Oxford, however, was held, and Pope Innocent III. lived a century after our Herbert; and we conclude upon the whole, that though there may have been even as

XI.

SERMON.

ON THE FESTIVAL OF ST. PAUL[a].

There was a certain rich man, who had a steward; St. Luke xvi. 1. *and the same was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods.* This man is our Lord and Redeemer, of whom the Psalmist singeth; *Shall not Sion say, This man and that man is born in her? and the Highest himself hath founded her.* Ps. lxxxvi. 5 (Douay). And elsewhere[b]; *And He is a man; and who shall know Him?* And holy Jeremy saith; *This is our* Lord, *and* without *Him none other shall be accounted of. He found out all the way of righteousness and knowledge, and gave it to Jacob his* Baruch iii. 36 to end.

early as his day a Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul, the festival for which he designed this sermon was rather the Natale S. Pauli, or Commemoratio S. Pauli, June 30.

[b] We cannot say what part of Holy Scripture this "elsewhere" of Herbert's refers to. All the light we can throw upon it is this. In a sermon on the parable of the Unjust Steward contained in St. Bernard's Works (ed. Bened., tom. ii. col. 708 F), but described by the editors as unworthy of St. Bernard, and attributable to another Bernard, a monk of Clugni, we find the following observation upon the word *man*, with which the parable opens; "The man is he of whom the Apostle saith, *made in likeness of men and found in fashion as a man;* who truly is justly denominated a man as being unique. Whence the prophet saith; He is a man and who hath known him (*homo est, et quis cognovit eum*); as if he had said; Who shall tell forth his exceeding great excellence?" The marginal reference to this professed quotation from the Prophets is Jer. xvii. 9; *Pravum est cor omnium, et inscrutabile; quis cognoscet illud?* ("The heart is perverse above all things, and unsearchable; who can know it?" Douay). But the text referred to can have nothing whatever to do with Christ.

It seems to have been a common view among the Fathers, that the *man born in Sion* was Christ. Jerome's comment on the verse in the Psalms is this; "*A man is born in her.* Who is this man? *and the Most High Himself hath founded her.* Let the Arians answer, since they assert that the Father alone is the Most High. But here the term Most High is predicated of the Son; *and the Most High Himself hath founded her.*" (*Breviar. in Psalterium*, ed. Bened., tom. ii. col. 350.)

iacob puero suo. et israel electo suo; Post hec in terris visus est. et cum hominibus conversatus est. Villicus ipse saulus hebreus. qui sui creatoris villæ custos fuerat factus. cum a suo didascalo gamaliele ceremoniarum legalium observantiam didicisset; Diffamatus est apud dominum suum. per angelos. per fideles qui erant in ierusalem. per sanguinem protomartiris stephani. quem is unus lapidavit. cum iudeorum vestimenta custodiens. ipsos iudeos ad lapidandum protomatirem
f. 233. (*sic*) stephanum exertos reddidit; * Vel maxime diffamatus est aput dominum suum. per voluntatem. et cogitationem. sermonem. et actionem crudelem. quæ sui evidentia saulum dominicarum rerum dissipatarum apud dominum accusabant. Dissipaverat bona domini sui? quia legem carnaliter intelligens? spiritualem intelligentiam ignorabat. Unde convenienter subsequitur. Quid hoc audio de te. redde rationem villicationis tuæ. iam

[c] This passage is from Baruch iii. 36—38. Herbert, quoting probably from memory, has made certain variations from the Vulgate, which we exhibit by placing the two versions in parallel columns :—

Vulgate of Sixtus V. 1593.	Herbert.
Hic est Deus noster,	Hic est dominus noster.
et non æstimabitur	et non estimabitur
alius	alius
adversus eum.	abque eo ;
Hic adinvenit omnem	Hic adinvenit omnem
viam disciplinæ,	viam iusticiæ et scientie.
et tradidit illam	et dedit eam
Jacob puero suo	iacob puero suo.
et Israel dilecto suo.	et israel electo suo ;
Post hæc in terris visus est	Post hec in terris visus est.
et cum hominibus	et cum hominibus
conversatus est.	conversatus est.

The Vulgate version is in English as follows : " This is our God (*Herbert*, Lord), and there shall no other be accounted of in comparison of (*Herb.*, beside) Him. He found out all the way of knowledge (*Herb.*, of righteousness and knowledge), and gave it to Jacob His servant and to Israel His beloved (*Herb.*, chosen). Afterwards He was seen upon earth and conversed with men."

servant, and to Israel his chosen. Afterwards he was seen upon earth, and conversed with men[c]. As for the steward himself, he is Saul the Hebrew, who had been made the keeper of his Creator's estate, when he had learned from his master Gamaliel the observance of the ceremonies of the Law. He was accused unto his master by the angels, by the faithful who were in Jerusalem, by the blood of the first martyr Stephen, whom he alone [may be said to have] stoned[d], when by keeping the raiment of the Jews, he set the Jews themselves at liberty to stone the proto-martyr Stephen. He was accused on every possible score to his master, in respect of will, and thought, and word, and cruel action, all which accused Saul to his master, [as it were] out of his own mouth, of having wasted his master's substance. He had wasted the goods of his lord, because, understanding the Law after the flesh, he was ignorant of the spiritual understanding [thereof]. Whence it fitly follows; *How is it that I hear this of thee? Give* St. Luke xvi. 2.

St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, l. xviii. c. xxxiii.) quotes this very passage of Baruch as a prediction of Christ, and goes on to say, "There are certain persons who attribute this testimony, not to Jeremiah, but to his secretary who was called Baruch; but it is more usually given to Jeremiah." (Ed. Bened., tom. vii. col. 515 E, F.) Canon Westcott ("Dict. of the Bible," s. v. BARUCH) tells us that the book bears evident traces of a later date than the companion of Jeremiah; but adds that "from the time of Irenæus it was frequently quoted both in the East and the West, and generally as the work of Jeremiah." In the Douay Bible published at Belfast in 1853 with the approbation of Bishop Denvir, we find this preliminary note to the Prophecy of Baruch; "*Baruch* was a man of noble extraction, and learned in the law, secretary and disciple to the prophet *Jeremias*, and a sharer in his labours and persecutions: which is the reason why the ancient fathers have considered this book as a part of the prophecy of *Jeremias*, and have usually quoted it under his name."

[d] St. Augustine has a thought somewhat similar to this as regards the comparative guilt of St. Paul and St. Stephen's other persecutors (Enarr. in Psalm. cxlvii. ed. Bened., tom. iv. col. 1669 F.) "Among the stoners of St. Stephen the martyr he was hard, and perhaps harder than the rest, for he kept the raiment of all those who took part in the stoning, in order that he might stone him with the hands of all." If the hands of the others were only instruments of Saul's malice, he himself may be said to have stoned Stephen alone. But see another quotation from St. Augustine lower down, p. 306, note s.

enim ulterius[e] non poteris villicare. Id est legalia sacramenta[f] non ultra poteris carnali obseruantia suffocare. Quod est dicere. Saule saule. quid me persequeris? durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare; In lege dominus prædicebatur. et præfigurabatur. sed illam spiritualem intelligentiam persequebatur saulus. et necdum illuminatus cognitione ueritatis. luci tenebras. et veritati præferebat umbram. Non enim inquit poteris ulterius uillicare. Hoc est apparente meæ incarnationis præsentia. non ulterius legem carnaliter debes obseruare. Harum cogitationum tumultu circumfulsus. cecatus. prostratus. humiliatus. estuabat saulus quid ageret. quo aufugeret? qua responsione tantas increpationes mitigaret; Choruscabat lux immortalis erranti animæ. set saucius mentis oculis instantem ueritatem sustinere non poterat. Ubi pharisei. ubi principes sacerdotum. ubi littere quas ab eisdem acceperat. ut si quos inuenisset christiane religionis viros. vinctos perduceret ierusalem; Magna virtus. sed dominus suo apparebat in fulgore; Saule inquit saule. quid me persequeris? durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare; Videte fratres. uidete dominice miserationis sacramenta[g]; Convaluerat dominus de infirmitate. aruerat sicut testa caro sua. incorruptibilis. immortalis. ad dexteram dei se-

[e] *ulterius.* Herbert's version differs from that of the Latin Vulgate by the insertion of the word *ulterius*, which exactly corresponds to the Greek ἔτι. The *jam*, which Herbert has in common with the Vulgate, must mean *from this time forward.*

[f] See note on p. 22, I., II.

[g] See note on p. 25, V.

[h] The reference is to Ps. xxi. 16, Vulg., *Aruit tanquam testa virtus mea*, "My strength is dried up like a potsherd." We might have thought

an account of thy stewardship; for now thou canst be steward no longer. That is, thou mayest no longer stifle the mystical meanings of the Law by thy carnal observance of them; which is as much as to say; *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the goad.* In the Law the Lord was foretold and foreshewn; but Saul persecuted that spiritual signification, and being not yet enlightened with the knowledge of the truth, chose darkness rather than light, and the shadow rather than the truth.—*For now,* saith he, *thou canst be steward no longer.* That is; since I have now appeared, and am present in the flesh, thou oughtest no longer to observe the Law carnally. Amidst the tumult of these thoughts Saul, encompassed with a bright light, blinded, cast down to the ground and humbled, was much perplexed as to what he should do, whither he should flee, and by what answer he should mollify such sharp rebukes. The light of heaven was shooting forth its beams on that wandering soul; but being wounded in spirit, he was not able to endure the truth which pressed upon the eyes of his mind. Where be now the Pharisees? Where the chief of the priests? Where be the letters which he had received from the said chief priests, that if he found any men of the Christian Faith, he should bring them bound to Jerusalem? A great miracle [indeed], but [one which does not surprise us, because] the Lord appeared in His own glory. *Saul, Saul,* saith He, *why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the goad.* See, brethren, see the depths of the Lord's compassion. The Lord had been made whole of His infirmity; His flesh *had dried up like a potsherd*[h] in immortality and incorruption. He was sitting at

Acts xxvi. 14, and ix. 4, 5.

Acts xxvi. 14.

[h] Ps. xxi. 16, Vulg.

that this was simply an expression of the Saviour's sense of exhaustion on the Cross. The comparison, however, suggests to the Fathers the idea not so much of exhaustion, as of strength arising out of tribulation. Thus Jerome says (*Breviar. in Psalter.*, ed. Bened., tom. ii. col. 173); "The potsherd, before it is placed in the fire, is weak; after it is placed in the fire it becomes strong. And Christ, after that He was lifted up upon the Cross, the instrument of suffering, strengthened His Church. He did not

f. 233, col. 2. debat. et tamen intonat[l]; Saule saule. quid me persequeris? quomodo poterat pati persecutionem. qui omnem euaserat corruptionem et mortalitatem? suis triumphaverat de hostibus. et nullis deinceps poterat succumbere iniuriis. Altum sacramentum[k]. et verba manantia ineffabili pietate; Nostis fratres karissimi quia dominus caput est omnium fidelium. et omnes fideles membra sunt nostri salvatoris; Quiescit quidem dominus persona sua in dextera patris? sed laborat in terris in anxietatibus et persecutionibus membrorum suorum; Laceratur in laceratis membris saluator. et qui pauperi viduæ vel pupillo lesionem infert? ipsi infert saluatori; Inde idem saluator dicit; Quod uni ex minimis meis fecistis. mihi fecistis[l]; Timete igitur fratres? timete accusare fratres. iudicare fratres. expoliare fratres? implere domos vestras alienas (*sic*) exuuiis. vestra accumulare scrinia[m] commerciis fraudulentiæ;

dry up therefore like hay, that He might wither and fall away, but like a potsherd, that He might become strong." And in a similar line of thought Augustine (In Psalmum xxi. Enarr. xxii. ed. Bened., tom. iv. col. 97 F.); "As a potsherd is soft before it is submitted to the fire, but hard after it is so submitted, so the name of the Lord was looked down upon before His passion, but after His passion it is honoured." And Gregory, quoted by Dr. Neale in his "Commentary on the Psalms," follows these two earlier Fathers: "As clay, when exposed to the fire, is at first soft and yielding, but by the heat of the furnace becomes hard and imperishable; so our Lord's human nature, from His birth—in that He was very man—subject to corruption, became, by the virtue of His Passion, incorruptible and impassible."

We do not give it as an idea in the least likely to have occurred to Herbert, being in far too modern a line of thought; but it occurs to us that there is a sense in which the glorified flesh of Christ may be truly said to have dried up in the process of becoming incorruptible. Blood is the principle of the animal life; and accordingly, in none of the descriptions of our Lord's resurrection do we find any allusion to blood in the risen body. Our Fourth Article very significantly steers clear of all mention of

the right hand of God; and yet these accents sound forth from His lips; *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* But how could He suffer persecution, who had now escaped from all corruption and mortality? He had triumphed over His enemies, and thenceforth could not sink under any despiteful treatment. A deep mystery indeed; and words which distil with unspeakable affection. Ye know, dearly beloved brethren, that the Lord is the head of all the faithful, and that all the faithful are members of our Saviour. In His own Person indeed the Lord resteth at the right hand of the Father; but on the earth He laboureth in the distresses and persecutions of His members. The Saviour is rent in the rending of His members; and he who doeth hurt to the poor widow or orphan, doeth it to the Saviour Himself. Hence the same Saviour saith, What *you did to one of these my least brethren*, St. Matt. xxv. 40. *you did to me.* Fear ye then, brethren, to accuse the brethren, to judge the brethren, to spoil the brethren, to fill your houses with the raiment which ye have stripped from others, to heap up in your coffers gain

blood when it says, "Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again His body, with flesh, bones, and all things pertaining to the perfection of man's nature." Blood, as the principle of mortality, may be said to be dried up in the glorified frame.

[l] *intonat.* The mediæval word *intono* is different both in origin and meaning from the classical word. The latter means simply to thunder forth, and would be most inappropriate as applied to the gentle expostulation which our Lord addressed to St. Paul at his conversion; it is, of course, connected with the substantive, *tonitru* (Fr. *tonnerre*). The mediæval *intono* is from *tonus* = τόνος, the tone or sound of an instrument, and means to begin a chant by sounding the reciting note.

[k] See note on p. 25, IV. 4, γ.

[l] This is Herbert's version of the words in St. Matt. xxv. 40, probably given *memoriter*. The Vulgate has, *Quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis*, "As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me." (Rheims.)

[m] *scrinium*, connected with the verb *scribo*, properly means a writing-case for keeping writing-materials, "vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco," (Hor., Ep. ii. 112.) In the later Latin, the word is used to signify a chest for containing relics, and also the coffers of a royal treasury. Probably the meaning in the passage before us is any treasure-chest in which money or other valuables are deposited.

Non inferatis persecutionem pauperibus Christi. quoniam Christus iudex est. et afflictorum pauperum misertus. vestras condempnabit cupiditates; Ecce iste saulus. elatus. pomposus. inobediens. minarum spirans. sanguinem siciens. satellitibus constipatus. percutitur? deicitur. cecatur. et velud (*sic*) furens comprehenditur ligatur. et collegarum manibus damascum ad ananiam fratrem fidelem deducitur; Renascitur aqua salutari. et novum renouatus in hominem. dominici corporis et sanguinis accipit communionem; Videt. confortatur. et altiori concilio quid deinceps agat præmeditatur; Fodere inquit non ualeo. mendicare erubesco; Hoc est legem spiritualiter speculari non ualeo. ab apostolis discere erubesco. ueterem doctorem discipulum fieri incongruum est; Vocatis ergo singulis debitoribus domini sui.
f. 233 b. dicebat primo; Quantum debes domino meo? At ille dixit. Centum cados olei; Cui dixit. Accipe litteras[n] tuas. et scribe. .l. Deinde alia (*sic*) dixit; Tu vero quantum debes? At ille dixit;

[n] It is certainly observable that, although in the original Greek of St. Luke xvi. 6, 7, the same word τὸ γράμμα is used for the receipt both of the hundred measures of oil and of the hundred measures of wheat, different words for these are used in the Vulgate, *cautionem tuam* in the first instance, and *litteras tuas* in the second. Very possibly Herbert may re-represent to us the *Vetus Itala*, or some earlier version than the Vulgate. The original meaning of *cautio* is, of course, wariness, whence comes its legal meaning of a formal precaution taken for the payment of a debt, a security, bond, or receipt. This is the only instance of its occurrence in the Vulgate, and considering how very literal that version usually is, the representation of one word by two requires to be accounted for.

[o] Herbert seems to have had in his mind 1 Pet. iii. 21, where it is said that "Baptism doth save us;" and also Tit. iii. 5, "According to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the

gotten by defrauding; raise not persecution against the poor of Christ, seeing that Christ is the Judge, and in pity to His afflicted poor, He will condemn your [worldly] lusts. See ye yonder Saul, puffed up, vainglorious, disobedient, breathing out threatenings, thirsting for blood, encompassed by his attendants, is struck, thrown down, blinded, and like one beside himself, is laid hold of, is bound, and is led by the hands of his fellows to Ananias, a faithful brother at Damascus. He is born again of the water which saveth us, and by renewing [of the Holy Ghost] is turned into a new man[o]; he receiveth the Communion of the Body and the Blood of the Lord[p]; he receiveth his sight, he is strengthened, and with deeper counsel [than he had hitherto taken], forecasteth what he shall henceforth do; *to dig I am not able,* saith he, *to beg I am ashamed.* That is to say, I cannot look into the Law after a spiritual manner; from the Apostles I am ashamed to learn; it is not meet that one who is an old master in Israel should become a disciple. *Therefore calling every one of his lord's debtors, he said to the first: How much dost thou owe my lord? But he said: An hundred barrels of oil. And he said to him: Take thy bill . . . and write fifty. Then he said to another: And how much dost thou owe?* But he

See 1 Pet. iii. 21, and Tit. iii. 5.

St. Luke xvi. 3.

St. Luke xvi. 5—7.

Holy Ghost;" in which last passage the renewing of the Holy Ghost and the washing of regeneration are to be understood as separate operations, in which light it is clear that Herbert regarded them, as does the Christmas Collect of our own Church; "Grant that we *being regenerate* . . . may *daily be renewed* by Thy Holy Spirit."

[p] We are not told in Scripture, in connection with his conversion, that St. Paul received the second as well as the first Sacrament of the Gospel. It is possible indeed, perhaps probable, that some of the Fathers may have understood the words which immediately succeed the record of his baptism ("when he had received meat he was strengthened," Acts ix. 19), to refer to his reception of the Eucharist, and that Herbert here may be glancing at that passage. What is certain is, that he received by direct revelation from the Lord the institution of the Holy Supper (1 Cor. xi. 23—25), perhaps in Arabia (Gal. i. 17); and if one might hazard a conjecture on such a subject, it would be that, until the institution was divinely communicated to him, he did not himself observe it.

Centum choros tritici; Et tu inquid (*sic*) scribe .lxxx. Ecce fratres karissimi. adimpletur (*sic*) in paulo illa antiqua vaticinia moysi. Beniamin inquit lupus rapax. mane comedet prædam. uespere dividet spolia. Mane saulus prædam comedit. cum in sua adolescentia stephanum lapidavit. fideles ierusalem eliminavit. circumquaque disseminavit. eos etiam exteris regionibus persecutus; Vespere exuuias diuisit. cum provectus virilem in ætatem fidem prædicavit? mores coluit. uitam adornavit. occulta legis sacramenta[q] reseravit. circumcisionem occuluit. gratiam confirmavit; Natus de tharso ciliciæ. suæ civitatis non ignotus municeps. hebreus de hebreis. gamalielis discipulus. primum persecutor ecclesiæ. deinceps christi provintialis[r]. et Christianæ religionis

[q] See note on p. 22, I. (3).

[r] *Provintialis*, an adjective formed from *provincia*, may mean either the inhabitant of a province, or its governor. The latter sense seems the most usual. It is possible that in using it, Herbert may have been thinking of the ecclesiastical application of the term *provincial* to the group of sees presided over by a metropolitan, and his meaning may have been, one of Christ's metropolitans, each of the Apostles being regarded as having a province of his own.

[s] "Paul, as he himself testifies, was of the tribe of Benjamin. When Jacob, in blessing his children, had come to Benjamin, he saith of him, 'Benjamin is a *ravening wolf*.' How then? If he were a ravening wolf, did he always ravine? Far from it. But what then? 'In the morning he shall eat the prey, in the evening he shall divide the spoil.' This was fulfilled in the Apostle Paul, for it was to him that the prediction referred. Now, if you please, let us look at him snatching in the morning, and dividing the spoil in the evening. Morning and evening is the same as saying before and afterwards. Let us therefore take it so, before he shall snatch, afterwards he shall divide the spoil. Give attention first to the snatcher; Saul, as the Book of the Acts testifies, having received letters from the chief priests, empowering him, wherever he found persons following the way of God, to hale and bring them to Jerusalem that they might be punished, went about breathing and gasping out slaughter. For when Stephen the first martyr was stoned for the name

said: An hundred quarters of wheat. Thou also, *saith he, write eighty.* Behold, dearly beloved brethren, how that ancient prophecy of Moses is fulfilled in Paul; *Benjamin*[5], *a ravenous wolf, in the morning shall eat the prey, in the evening shall divide the spoil.* In the morning Saul devoured the prey, when in his youth he stoned Stephen, drave the faithful out of Jerusalem, scattered them abroad in every quarter, and persecuted them even to strange cities. In the evening he divided the spoil, when, having come to man's estate, he preached the Faith, studied holy living, adorned his life [with many graces], opened the hidden mysteries of the Law, kept circumcision in the background, and confirmed [men in] grace[6]. He was born at Tarsus in Cilicia, and no mean citizen of his city, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, a disciple of Gamaliel, at first a persecutor of the Church, he is afterwards made the governor of one of

Gen. xlix. 27.

See Acts viii. 1, 4; and xxvi. 11.

See Acts xxii. 3; xxi. 38; Phil. iii. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 9; and 1 Tim. i. 13.

of Christ, Saul too was present and made himself conspicuous. And in such sort was he present with the stoners, that he was not contented to stone him only with his own hands. For in order that his agency might be in the hands of all the stoners, he kept the raiment of all, shewing more fierceness by helping all, than if he had stoned him with his own hands. (See above, p. 299, l. 9, and note d.) So far we have heard the meaning of *in the morning he shall snatch.* Let us now consider what that means, *in the evening he shall divide the spoil.* By the voice of Christ from heaven he was thrown down, and receiving a prohibition to shew rage any more, he fell on his face, first stricken, but afterwards healed. For Christ would not afterwards have lived in him, had he not first been slain when he lived a bad life. . . . . 'What wilt Thou have me to do?' said he. Now he who at first was furious in persecuting, prepares himself for obedience. Now out of the persecutor the preacher is fashioned, out of the wolf the sheep, out of the enemy the soldier," &c. (Augustini Serm. 279, de Paulo Apostolo, ed. Bened., tom. v. col. 1129.) Bp. Wordsworth, adopting the application of Jacob's prophecy to St. Paul, refers to other Fathers who applied it in the same way,—Ambrose, De Benedict. Patriarch., § xii., and in Psalm. cxviii.; Hilary, in Psalm. lxvii.; Cyril Alex. Glaphyra, § vii.; Jerome in Osee v.; and Theodoret (Quæstiones). Ambrose, in shewing the fulfilment of Jacob's prophecy in St. Paul, adds this particular, that Rachel, bearing Benjamin, called him Ben-oni, "son of my sorrow," therefore prophesying of Paul, who should afflict the Church's children when he was a persecutor, and vex his mother with grievous sorrow. The same, however, in his later days, should divide a portion to the great men of this world, preaching

invictissimus efficitur prædicator. De quo dominus ad ananiam. Hic est inquit vas electionis ut portet nomen meum coram regibus et principibus. et cunctis nationibus terræ. Sermo (*sic*) qui debebat centum cados olei. præcipit paulus ut scribet .l. quum suæ miliciæ exaltata tuba. tocius mundi adortatur nationes. ut ad antiquam revertantur possessionem. in qua primus homo creatus fuit ad imaginem et similitudinem dei. et convertantur ad Christum. et baptizentur in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. et accipient remissionem omnium peccatorum suorum. Certe fratres verba pauli non verba hominis. sed etheris tonitrua esse videntur. Unde est illud. Si consurrexistis cum Christo quæ *(*sic*) ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens. quæ sursum sunt sapite non que super terram; * Item; Primus homo de terra terrenus. secundus homo de cœlo celestis. et sicut portavimus imaginem terreni. portemus et imaginem cœlestis. quoniam quidem per hominem mors. et per hominem resurrexio (*sic*) mortuorum. et sicut in adam omnes moriuntur. ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur. et cetera omnia suarum epestolarum (*sic*) thonitrua. que non hominis mortalis verba? sed ipsius divini verbi comprobantur oracula; Unde

*In the margin is written, "sursum sunt quærite."

f. 233 b, col. 2.

the word of God to the Gentiles, and stirring up many to the faith, and conveying the grace of God to Sergius Paulus the Proconsul, and to Publius, the governor of the island of Melita.

t "remission of all their sins." We really are unable to follow this allegorizing of our author. The only point we can see, with the utmost straining of our eyes, lies in this last clause. The debtor of the parable was not to acknowledge himself to be so heavily indebted as in truth he was; and the repenting and believing sinner is no longer to acknowledge

Christ's provinces, and a most valiant preacher of the Christian Faith; of whom the Lord saith to Ananias, *This man is to me a vessel of election, to carry my name before kings* and princes, and all the nations of the earth. Acts ix. 15.

To the servant who owed a hundred barrels of oil, Paul bade that he should write fifty, when, lifting up the trumpet of his warfare, he exhorteth the nations of all the world to return to their ancient possession, even to that image and likeness of God, in which the first man was created; and to be converted to Christ, and to be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and thus to receive remission of all their sins[t]. Certainly, my brethren, the words of Paul are not the words of a man, but rather seem to be the thunderings[u] of the air. Hence cometh that word of his; *If you be risen with Christ, seek the things that are above; where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God: Mind the things that are above, not the things that are upon the earth.* And again; *The first man was of the earth, earthly: the second man from heaven, heavenly.* And *as we have borne the image of the earthly, let us bear also the image of the heavenly. For by a man came death, and by a man the resurrection of the dead. And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive.* And all the other thunderings of his Epistles. Which places seem not to be the words of a mortal man, but approve themselves as the oracles of the Divine Word Himself. Whence Col. iii. 1, 2. 1 Cor. xv. 47, 49, 21, 22.

the debt of sin, Christ having paid the debt, and he being forgiven for Christ's sake.

[u] St. Paul, almost as justly as St. James and St. John, might be designated a son of thunder. The natural impetuosity of his spirit, which came out in its unchastened fervour when he said to the High Priest, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall," being sanctified by divine grace, found inspired utterances in the rebuke which he administered to St. Peter at Antioch; in his strong words to the Galatians against justification by the Law; in his magnificent oracle as to the proceedings of the Second Advent in 1 Thess. iv., and as to the resurrection in 1 Cor. xv., and in many other passages of his writings, and in other places which will suggest themselves to the reader.

idem doctor egregius quodam in loco contestatur; An inquit experimentum queritis. qui in me loquitur Christus? Mihi inquit absit gloriari nisi in cruce domini nostri ihesu Christi. per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo. Deinde alii dixit. et tu scribe octoginta; Octoginta scribere est fidem prædicare de resurrectione quæ futura est in octava. quando mortale nostrum induerit immortalitatem. et corruptibile incorruptionem. et fiet sermo qui scriptus est absorta (*sic*) est mors in victoria; Futuram prædicavit paulus animarum impassibilitatem. corporum incorruptionem. et immortalitatem. facie ad faciem dei cognitionem. et in cognitione dei beatitudinem eternam. et beatam æternitatem; Videbimus quidem carnem Christi carnalibus oculis. sed animam. et verbum. et patrem. et spiritum sanctum. intuebimur mente. contemplabimur intellectu. venerabimur caritate; Beati inquit veritas mundi corde. quoniam ipsi deum videbunt; Hec paulus docuit. et hujus prædicationis novitate universum orbem commovit. idola subvertit. et præscitos et prædestinatos fideles ad pietatem revocavit et reduxit; Abiit ad apostolos videre petrum et iohannem. sed sancti apostoli nichil paulo contulerunt. cui omnia legis et evangelii sacramenta[x]. per revelationem domini nostri ihesu Christi a spiritu sancto. manifestata sunt. Inde rediit damascum. post hec in arabiam. deinde in asiam. in greciam. in traciam. in pontum. in illiricum. et fundatis ecclesiis? post xiiij. annos asendit (*sic*)

[x] See p. 22, note x. I. 4.

the same excellent doctor witnesseth in a certain place, saying, *Do you seek a proof of Christ that speaketh in me? God forbid,* he saith, *that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom the world is crucified to me, and I to the world.*—Then he said to another, *Write thou fourscore.* To write fourscore is to preach the faith concerning the Resurrection, which shall come to pass in the eighth age of the world[y], *when our mortal shall have put on immortality, and our corruptible incorruption; and the saying that is written shall come to pass; Death is swallowed in victory.* Paul preached the freedom of souls from suffering, which shall be hereafter, and the incorruption and immortality of bodies, the knowledge of God face to face, and in the knowledge of God eternal blessedness and a blessed eternity. The Flesh of Christ indeed we shall see with the eyes of our flesh; but His soul, and the Word, and the Father, and the Holy Ghost, we shall look upon with the mind, we shall contemplate with the understanding, we shall adore by love. *Blessed are the clean of heart,* saith the Truth, *for they shall see God.* These things Paul taught, and by the newness of this preaching he turned the world upside down, overthrew the idols, recalled and brought back unto godliness the faithful whom God had foreknown and predestinated. He went to the Apostles to see Peter and John[z]. But the holy Apostles in conference added nothing unto Paul; unto whom all the hidden mysteries of the Law and of the Gospel were made manifest by the Holy Ghost through the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thence he returned unto Damascus[a]. After this he went into Arabia; then into Asia, into Grecia, into Thracia, into Pontus, into Illyricum; and having founded churches [in those countries], after four-

2 Cor. xiii. 3. Gal. vi. 14.

See 1 Cor. xv. 53, 54.

St. Matt. v. 8.

See Acts xvii. 6.

See Gal. ii. 6.

See Acts ii. 9, and Rom. xv. 19.

[y] See pp. 63—65, notes z and a.

[z] See Gal. i. 17, 18; ii. 9.

[a] Herbert, quoting from memory, has inverted the order of St. Paul's proceedings, as recorded in Gal. i. 17. The words are, "I went into Arabia, and returned again to Damascus."

in ierusalem; Perlustrata syria descendit in an-
f. 234. tiochiam. et petro* apostolorum principe correcto. fideles antiochenos reformavit. et confirmavit ad gratiam. Item rediit in ierusalem et suorum contribulum (*sic*) insidiis romanorum præsidibus traditus est. Capitur et ligatur paulus Christianorum dux invictissimus. et navi impositus. per hostes. et multa pericula ad urbem delatus est. Ibi beatissimum petrum apostolum invenit. eique suarum peregrinationum calamitates. et iudeorum insidias. et persecutiones explicuit; Convenerunt romam duo luminaria. et invictissimi prælatores ecclesiæ adversus neronem et simonem tocius mundi communes inimicos armabantur; Sed non fuit prolixa tanti prælii comperendinatio[b]; Con-

[b] *Comperendinatio* is a legal Latin term, indicating originally the period which elapsed between the appointment by the prætor of a judge, and the judge's investigation of and decision upon the facts of a dispute. The proceedings before the prætor, which were simply an application for the appointment of a judge, were said to be *in jure;* but those before the judge were said to be *in judicio*, and took place usually on the third day after application had been made to the prætor, unless he saw some reason for further deferring the *judicium*. The prætor, in citing the defendant to trial by the *judex* on the third day, was said *comperendinare eum*. The third day itself was called *comperendinus* (sc. *dies*), and the deferring of the trial to it *comperendinatio*.

[c] Herbert here confuses two passages of Holy Scripture together, the one Gal. i. 18 ("After three years I went up to Jerusalem"); the other Cor. xii. 2 ("I knew a man in Christ about fourteen years ago").

[d] The reference is, of course, to Gal. ii. 11; "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed." One is glad to find Herbert referring without hesitation to this text, and not making any attempt to soften it down or explain it away. Such attempts were made very early in the history of the Church, κατὰ πρόσωπον being interpreted to mean an external show of resistance where there was no reality of it. The idea was, that St. Paul as a point of policy rebuked St. Peter, in order to conciliate the Gentiles. As will be seen from Bp. Wordsworth's valuable note on the passage, SS. Augustine and Jerome had a correspondence on the subject of this interpretation, the result of which was, that the latter was convinced by the arguments of

teen[c] years he went up unto Jerusalem. Having passed throughout Syria, he went down to Antioch, and [there] having corrected Peter[d], the chief of the Apostles, he reformed the faithful of Antioch, and confirmed them in the grace [of God]. Furthermore, he returned to Jerusalem, and there by the lying in wait of his own countrymen was delivered into the hands of the Roman authorities. Paul, that most valiant captain of the Christians, is taken and bound, and being put aboard a ship, is brought at length through the midst of enemies and many perils to the City. There he found the most blessed Apostle Peter[e], and to him expounded the distress which had befallen him in his journeyings, and the lying in wait of the Jews, and their persecutions. And thus those two lights came together at Rome; and the most valiant soldiers of the Church girded themselves to the war against Nero and Simon, the common enemies of the whole world. But the joining of the great battle was not deferred for any long time.

See Gal. i. 21.

See Gal. ii. 11, 14.

See Acts xi. 25, 26.

See Acts xxi. 27, 31—33.

See Acts xx. 23; and xxvii. 1, 2; and xxviii. 14.

See Acts viii. 9, 23.

the former, that the interpretation in question was altogether untenable, and that the words must mean what the English version makes them mean, that St. Paul rebuked St. Peter to his face.

[e] The tradition which makes St. Peter the fellow-worker of St. Paul at Rome, and the companion of his imprisonment and martyrdom, seems to have grown up gradually in the Church, till at length, in the fourth century, it was accredited by Eusebius and Jerome. If we trace it to its origin, however, it appears to rest upon but slender foundations. It is attested, indeed, by Clemens Romanus (i. 5), that St. Peter died by martyrdom, but he does not say that Rome was the scene of the Apostle's labours or death. The earliest authority for this is Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth (about A.D. 170), who calls "Peter and Paul" the "*founders of the Corinthian and Roman Churches*," and says that they both taught in Rome together, and suffered martyrdom "*about the same time*" (κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν). (Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," Lond., 1853, vol. ii. p. 505, note.)

None of the epistles of Dionysius are now extant, but Eusebius (H. E., lib. iv. c. 23) and Jerome (De Scriptt. 27) give lists of them, and Eusebius has preserved some fragments; that which is referred to in the above extract from Conybeare and Howson being found in H. E., ii. 25. In the *Codex Apocryphus* of Fabricius (Hamburg, 1719, tom. iii. p. 632), there is a treatise by one Marcellus, alleged to have been a disciple of St. Peter, "De mirificis rebus et actibus beatorum Petri et Pauli," attested at the

gressi sunt symonem. et verbis victum? ad miracula coegerunt; Sed non erant miracula quæ immundi spiritus præstigiose et fallatiter (*sic*) componebant; Apostolorum oratio prævaluit. et vota fidelia ad aures dei. præcesserunt; Implicatur magi volatus. et precepto petri vires demonum enervatæ sunt; Corruit symon. et lapidi illisus morte infelici condempnatus est. Inde neronis iussu beatus petrus apostolus deductus est ad crucem. et de cruce assumptus est ad

close by these words; "I, Marcellus, a disciple of my lord the Apostle Peter, have written the things which I saw." In this treatise St. Peter, as soon as he heard of St. Paul's having come to Rome, is said to have rejoiced with great joy, and immediately to have arisen and gone to him. "But when they saw one another they wept for joy, and remaining very long in each other's embrace, they mutually bathed one another in tears. And when Paul had shewed Peter the whole course of his fortunes, and Peter had told Paul what snares Simon Magus was laying for him, he departed in the evening, intending to return on the morning of the next day."

[1] The account given of the meeting of the Apostles with Simon, and of the false miracles which the latter wrought, is in brief as follows:—

That through St. Peter's preaching Livia, Nero's wife, and Agrippina were converted, and induced to quit the company of their husbands; that through St. Paul's preaching many of the imperial guard were brought to Christianity, and left the service of the Emperor; that the Jews, moved with envy, set on Simon Magus to prefer false charges against the Apostles to Nero; that the miracles of the Apostles were like those recorded in the Gospels,—the healing of the sick, the raising of the dead, and the casting out of devils; whereas those of Simon were fantastic in their character,—the making a brazen serpent to move, the changing his appearance into different shapes, appropriate to childhood, youth, and old age; the rising into the air suddenly (like a modern spiritualist), and the summoning by magic large dogs to devour St. Peter, who, however, baffled their attack by extending his hands in prayer, and exhibiting a barley loaf which he had blessed and broken, upon seeing which the dogs disappeared. The crowning trial was appointed to be on the field of Mars, where Nero, by Simon's direction, had commanded a lofty tower to be built. Simon ascended to the top of the tower crowned with laurel, and began to fly. But he was not to be more successful than Icarus in the heathen myth. Paul was praying, while Peter was fastening his eyes on the floating form of Simon. At a monition from Paul that the right moment had arrived, Peter commanded the angels of Satan, who were bearing up Simon in

They met Simon, and having overcome him in arguments, compelled him to shew miracles for himself. But they were no miracles, which the unclean spirits with the crafty devices [of sorcery] and all deceivableness forged [at Simon's bidding]. The prayer of the Apostles prevailed; and their faithful vows entered into the ears of God. The sorcerer is entangled while flying in the air, and at the word of Peter the strength of the devils waxed weak. Simon fell, and being dashed against a stone, was condemned to suffer a miserable death[f]. Thence, at the command of Nero, the blessed Apostle Peter was led away to be cruci-

See 2 Thes. ii. 9, 10, and 2 Tim. iii. 8, 9.

their hands, to let him fall; and adjured in the name of God and the Lord Jesus, the angels dropped their burden, and Simon's body fell with a crash, and was broken into four parts, uniting together by the impact four flint stones. The whole story will be found not only in the letter of Marcellus as given by Fabricius, but also in Ordericus Vitalis, bk. ii. c. 3, which is entitled "Life and Death of St. Paul, compiled from the Acts and from Ancient Legends; with St. Peter's Martyrdom." The reader may refer also to Herbert's "Life and Letters," p. 78, and to the verses there quoted from William of Malmesbury in reference to Herbert's simony. The line,

"Petre, nimis tardas, nam Simon ad ardua tentat,"

has reference to St. Paul's address to St. Peter, as given by Marcellus and Ordericus; "Peter, why do you delay? finish what you have begun; for the Lord Jesus already calls us to Him."

A short account is given of the same event by Cyril of Jerusalem, in his "Lectures to Catechumens," delivered about the year 347, as quoted by Baronius, (Anno Christi 68, Petri 24, Neronis 12, sect. xvii.); "When Simon's error was widely spread abroad, a pair of worthy friends, Peter and Paul, being at that time rulers of the Church, rectified the calamity, and put an end to Simon in a moment of time, while he was vaingloriously asserting himself to be the just one. For after that he had announced that he would ascend to heaven, and was actually borne up by demons into the air, those servants of God, bending their knees in prayer, and exhibiting that harmony whereof Jesus had said, 'If two of you shall agree as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them,' they, by means of prayer, shooting forth against the sorcerer this dart of harmony, threw him down to the earth; nor is it wonderful that it so came to pass, for Peter was he who carried the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Yea! it is not to be wondered at, for Paul was he who was caught up into the third heaven and into Paradise, and had heard secret words which it is not lawful for man to utter. Him who called himself God they hurled down from the sky to the earth, thenceforth to be thrust down to hell."

gloriam sempiternam; Paulus vero conservabatur in carcere. et verbum veritatis prædicans. suo in proposito intrepidus consistebat; Habebat facultatem discendi (*sic*). et libera utens potestate. sui college supplebat vices; Gladios exspectabat neronis. et sui præscius martirii prædestinato sue passionis loco? non aliquo discebat (*sic*). Manebat rome. et suis epistolis latentia mundi viscera penetrabat. ad heremos. ad insulas. ad extremas et interiores provincias. velut cœleste fulgur doctrina pauli coruscabat. Ibi tonitruum ejus non audiebatur. ubi nullus erat homo; Passo quippe apostolorum principe. rerum ecclesiasticarum summam apostolus administrabat; Clementem petri successorem. suumque discipulum. ecclesiasticis sacramentis[g] informabat. et romani imperii fideles in fide et constantia confirmabat; Unus omnia sustinebat. ut qui pro ceteris laboraverat. gloriosiorem præ ce-

[g] See p. 25, note x. IV. 2.

[h] Marcellus, and Ordericus after him, tell us that Nero, in a transport of rage at the death of his favourite sorcerer, proposed to Agrippa that the Apostles should be burnt in the Naumachia (a place where the sea-fights were held, and occasionally ships with crews of condemned criminals set on fire by the opposite party); but Agrippa replied that Paul hardly appeared worthy of so dreadful an end, seeing he was not actually guilty of the murder of Simon, and that justice would be satisfied by his only losing his head. As for Peter, who had committed the homicide, he ought to be crucified. Marcellus adds that this was done immediately, Paul's head being taken off in the Ostian Way, and Peter being crucified with his head downwards by his own request, and stilling the fury of the multitude against Nero with a beautiful address, of which this is the close: "I commend unto Thee the sheep which Thou didst entrust unto me, that they, having Thee, may not feel the loss of me; and I pray that they may ever be protected by Thy mighty aid, O Lord Jesu Christ, by Whom I have been enabled to govern this flock;" and so saying, he gave up the ghost.

[i] As we are not acquainted with any legend of the assumption of St. Peter in the technical sense of that word, we can only suppose that by this expression Herbert means nothing more than that after death his soul

fied[h], and from the cross he was taken[i] up to everlasting glory. But Paul was kept in prison[k], and preaching the word of truth, without fearfulness continued stedfast in his purpose. He had the gift of speaking, and freely using this power, he supplied his partner's lack of service. He was in [daily] expectation of the swords of Nero; and having knowledge of his own martyrdom beforehand, he continued teaching in the predestined place of his passion, not elsewhere. He abode at Rome, and by his epistles stretched himself into the inward and hidden parts of the world: the doctrine of Paul, like the lightning of heaven, shone even unto the wildernesses, and the islands, and the furthest and innermost provinces. There alone was not the noise of his thunderings heard, where there was no man[l]. For after the prince of the Apostles had suffered, our Apostle ordered the affairs of the Church as chief governor, instructed Clement, the successor of Peter and his own disciple, in the truths which are the deposit entrusted to the Church, and confirmed the faithful of the Roman empire in faith and stedfastness. He alone supported the whole [estate of the Church], as one who, having laboured for others, looked for

But see 2 Cor. x. 10, and xi. 6; and 1 Cor. ii. 1, 4.

See Phil. iv. 3.

passed into Paradise, there to rest in Christ's bosom until the day of resurrection,—a state not properly called glory, although popularly confounded with it.

[k] It will be seen that Herbert supposed St. Paul to have lived for some time after St. Peter. "Some say St. Peter suffered on the same day of the month, but a year before St. Paul. But Eusebius, St. Epiphanius, and most others affirm that they suffered the same year, and on the 29th of June." (Alban Butler, "Lives of Saints," June 29.) Baronius (A.C. 69, sections 3 and 4) quotes Augustine as maintaining that the Apostles died on the same day of the year, but St. Paul a year after St. Peter. The truer and better grounded opinion, however, Baronius thinks to be, that they were martyred not only on the same day, but in the same year; and for this he refers to Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, Maximus, Cassiodorus, and "numberless others of a more recent date."

[l] The phrase is peculiar; but what is working in Herbert's mind evidently is Psalm xviii. (Vulg.), vv. 4, 5; "There are no speeches nor languages, where their voices are not heard. Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth: and their words unto the ends of the world." These words of the Psalmist are applied by St. Paul himself to the wide spread of the Gospel in Rom. x. 18.

teris exspectaret triumphum; Excellentissimus
f. 234, col. 2. ecclesiæ præliator. et cuius victoriis nullius fidelis merita comparentur; In partibus ceteris. set paulus mundi monarchiam ad pietatem convertit. Unde ut petrus? suum romæ meruit[m] martirium; Una in civitate passi sunt principes ecclesiæ. ne alteri ut ait beatus ambrosius roma deesset; Sub uno tiranno. ut par pena utrumque constringeret. una die ut simul pervenirent ad beatitudinem; Quadam igitur nocte. apostolus prolixius disputabat. et suæ affluentiam doctrine usque in profundam noctem extendebat; Plena erat domus audientium. et intrantibus fidelibus minime locus sufficiebat; Conscendebant parietes. et in fenestris discumbebant. et quam inferius non poterant. de superioribus hauriebant veritatem. Unde contigit. ut patroclus quidam adolescens de palatio neronis. impulsu (*sic*) trabe de superioribus caderet. et collisus pavimento mortuus iaceret. Mors patrocli non latuit neronem. sed adolescentis resurrectio celerrima. mortem subsecuta est.

[m] *Meruit.* In illustration of this meaning of the word *mereor*, we extract a passage from the Preface of a very beautiful work recently published by Mr. John F. France, called *Preces Veterum* (Sampson Low, Fleet-street, 1872); "The verb *mereor*, with its inflections . . . is unquestionably at first sight suggestive of the English word *deserve* as its equivalent. There is, however, abundant proof that the idea of desert or merit was not in the minds of the writers; with whom 'mereri vitam, gloriam,' &c., simply meant to gain or win the benefits sought; as in the line of Alcuin,—'Incerti qualem mereamur tangere portum.' This sense is in conformity with the derivation of the word from μείρω, or μείρομαι, = 'consequor,' 'nanciscor;' and was not unknown to the later classical authors according to Facciolati, who gives an example from Pliny, 'Sequi gloria, non appeti, debet; nec, si casu aliquo non sequatur, idcirco quod gloriam non meruit minus pulchrum est.' . . . Upon this point the Abp. of Dublin, as quoted in Bright's 'Ancient Collects,' says, 'The implied merit, which of course originally belonged to the word, has quite fallen out of sight in these cases.' Dr. Maitland speaks to the same effect; 'I believe that

a triumph glorious beyond that of others. A valiant warrior of the Church was he, and one with whose conquests no exploits of the faithful in other parts can be compared; but [in addition to his labours elsewhere] it was the empire of the whole world which Paul converted unto godliness. Whence it came to pass, as Peter won the glory of being martyred at Rome, that in one and the same city the princes of the Church suffered, lest, as St. Ambrose[n] saith, Rome should be wanting to one or the other of them; that under one oppressor, as was meet, the like punishment of death might overwhelm them both, so that both together on one day [of the year] they might arrive at blessedness.

On a certain night, then, the Apostle was disputing for a long while, and such was the rich abundance of his doctrine, that [his speech] reached far into the night. The house was filled with hearers, and there was not room sufficient for the faithful who entered it; they climbed up on the walls, and sat in the windows, and from higher places drank in the truth which from the lower they could not drink. Whence it came to pass that Patroclus, a certain youth belonging to the palace of Nero, pushed by [a falling] beam, fell from an upper loft, and being dashed against the pavement, lay [there] dead. Nero had information of the death of Patroclus; but very soon the raising of the young man to life followed upon his death. For the Apostle

the true sense of *mereor*, as commonly used by writers of the Dark Ages, is to arrive at, or obtain, or come to the possession of some honour or benefit without reference to personal desert. . . . This view had, in fact, been enunciated long before. Cassander had said expressly, 'Vocabulum merendi apud veteres ecclesiasticos scriptores fere idem valet quod consequi.'"

[n] "St. Ambrose." We have searched the works of St. Ambrose in vain for the passage to which Herbert refers. Possibly he may have written "Ambrosius" by mistake for some other Father. The nearest approach we can find to the sentiment is in St. Augustine, Serm. 296, De Natali Apost. Petri et Pauli, ed. Bened., tom. v. col. 1199, 1200, where mention is made of Rome as the burial-place of Peter, Paul, Laurence, and many other martyrs. But the pithy saying quoted by Herbert does not there appear.

Apostolus quippe collisa membra sibi iubet afferri. et facta oratione et vitam revocavit. et incolumitatem reformavit adolescenti. Inde redivivus adolescens ad palatium rediit. et ut sua erat consuetudo neroni ministrare cepit; Quod nero intuens multum exhorruit. et quomodo viveret imperiali supercilio requisivit; Vivo inquit adolescens imperator per orationes sancti apostoli. et per virtutem domini nostri ihesu Christi qui me revocavit a mortuis. et qui in fine mundi venturus est. et iudicaturus te o imperator. et omnes mundi generationes. et sæculum per ignem; Ad quem nero; Insanis patrocle qui mihi iudicium minaris. et res humanas ignis violentia perire promittis? Non insanio inquit imperator. sed tibi et circumstanti senatui sanam doctrinam prædico. Inde commotus imperator. iuvenem abduci. et apostolum suæ præsentiæ præcepit præsentari; Capitur ille emeritus athleta. et victoriosissimus præliator. et consuetudinarias pro Christi nomine gerens catenas. consistitur ante cesarem. Fit disputatio. sed mundi inimicus succubuit veritati. Unde iratus? apostolum trahi. et ad locum mar-
f. 234 b. tirii iubet duci.* sibique caput gladio amputari. Cui apostolus. Ego quidem imperator diu desideratam pro Christi nomine expecto (*sic*) mortem. sed post mortem de continenti apparebo tibi. tuum prædicturus interitum. ut cognoscas domino meo ihesu Christo nullum impossibile futurum; His

bids the bruised limbs to be brought unto him, and having made prayer [unto God], called back the life [which had fled], and restored soundness and safety to the young man. Thence the young man raised to life again returned to the palace, and, as he was wont, began to minister to Nero. But Nero beholding him was greatly affrighted, and with the haughtiness of a great potentate, demanded of him how he came to be alive. "I live, O king," said the young man, "through the prayers of the holy Apostle, and through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ; who hath called me back again from the dead, and who shall come in the end of the world to judge thee, O king, and all the generations of mankind, and to destroy this world by fire." To whom Nero answered; "Art thou mad, Patroclus, who dost thus threaten me with judgment, and declarest that all human things shall be destroyed by the violence of fire?" "I am not mad, O king," saith he, "but unto thee, and unto thy senators who stand around thee, I preach a wholesome doctrine." Then was the emperor moved with indignation, and commanded that the youth should be put to death, and that the Apostle should be brought before his presence. They lay hands upon that wrestler who had well-nigh completed his term of service, and bring before Cæsar the soldier who had gotten so many victories, wearing his accustomed chains for Christ's name's sake. Then arises a disputation, in which the enemy of the whole world was beaten down by the power of the truth. Wherefore Nero, being full of fury, commands the Apostle to be haled away, and to be led to the place of martyrdom, and that his head should be stricken off with the sword. But the Apostle said to him, "As for me, O king, now of a long time have I been waiting for death for Christ's name's sake, which is all my desire; but after my death I will forthwith appear unto thee, to foretell unto thee thy fall; that thou mayest know that to my Lord Jesus Christ nothing will be impossible." When he had spoken these words,

See 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

See Acts xxvi. 29, and Col. iv. 18.

dictis abiit. et via qua trahebatur cuidam plautilde romane matrone obviavit. a qua sui capitis pannum accepit. promittens quod suo intinctum cruore eundem pannum fideli redderet mulieri; Pervenit ad locum passionis. et extensis manibus diu hebraice oravit. interitum neronis. et celerrime reddendam ecclesiæ pacem nuntiavit. Inde caput obtulit. et timenti carnifici ut feriret præcepit. Decollatus est itaque paulus. ille veritatis egregius prædicator. lux mundi. et tocius exemplum iustitie. Post mortem promissum pannum sanguine intinctum plautildæ reddidit. In palatio neroni apparuit. et quæ post sanctorum passiones martirum neroni contigerunt infortunia prædixit; Verba apostoli confirmavit. perdicionis sequens affectus. Nero quippe paucos post dies. reipublice hostis. et tocius mundi inimicus a senatu adjudicatur. purpura expoliatur. et cesus publice urbe eicitur. atque suorum manibus libertorum. in laurea silva delitescens interficitur? ejusque

• These particulars are taken from the apocryphal story of the martyrdom of St. Paul by Linus, which will be found in Ordericus, bk. ii. c. 3. The first part of the tale is evidently a repetition of the true story of Eutychus, as given in Acts xx. Patroclus is said by Linus to have been the emperor's cup-bearer. His fall is attributed to drowsiness ("through the snares and malice of Satan,"—see Dean Swift's Sermon, "On sleeping in Church" [Works: Edinburgh, 1824, vol. viii. Serm. x.]), and not to the falling of a beam, which feature Herbert perhaps introduced into the tale by way of relieving the young man from all blame. Paul is said to have exhorted the congregation to pray with him for Patroclus' resurrection, and on the conclusion of the prayer to have said, "Young Patroclus, rise up and relate what the Lord has done for thee." Nero is said to have given Patroclus a blow on the cheek after he had confessed the Christian faith; upon which several of the attendants, who had themselves believed in Christ, confessed Him boldly, and expostulated with the emperor. In the answer of Patroclus to the emperor, as given by Herbert, we find a trace of "I am not mad, most noble Festus;" but no such trace appears in the account given by Ordericus. It is also

he departed; and as they drew him to his death, he encountered in the way a certain Roman lady, named Plautilda. From her he received a cloth which covered her head, promising that he would restore to this faithful woman the aforesaid cloth dyed with his own blood. He came to the place of his passion, and there spreading forth his hands, prayed for a long time in the Hebrew tongue, and told of the fall of Nero, and of the peace which should be soon restored to the Church. After these things he presented his head, and bade the executioner, who was fearful [to do his office], to strike. And so was Paul beheaded, that eminent preacher of the truth, that light of the world, that ensample of all righteousness.

After his death, according to his promise, he restored to Plautilda the cloth which was dyed in his blood. In the palace he appeared unto Nero, and foretold to him the misfortunes which befel him after the sufferings [inflicted by him upon] the holy martyrs[o]. And the ruin of the emperor, which took effect soon after, confirmed the words of the Apostle; for Nero after a few days was adjudged by the senate to be an enemy of the commonwealth, and the foe of the whole world; he was stripped of the purple, and beaten publicly, and cast out of the city; and while lying hid in a laurel-grove, was slain by the hands of his own freedmen, and his carcase was devoured by the wolves

said by Ordericus that a decree of the Senate was passed condemning St. Paul to decapitation on a charge of high treason. The name of the Roman matron is given as Plautilla, and it is said that with her handkerchief he bound his eyes to receive the death-stroke. Herbert has left out the particular that in his last prayer St. Paul turned towards the east; and also the circumstance that his head, immediately after its separation from the body, pronounced with a clear voice the name of Jesus Christ in Hebrew, and that milk issued in the first instance from the wound. As regards Plautilla's kerchief, there is a mass of legend which Herbert has only touched summarily. It is said to have disappeared immediately after the Apostle's head fell; and Nero's officers, when they returned from the execution, are said to have asked Plautilla derisively why she did not cover her head with it. She told them that the Apostle, accompanied by white-robed angels, had come from heaven and restored her kerchief,

cadaver. a lupis et avibus devoratur; Justum judicium. ut his communicaret (*sic*) sepultura. qui sanctam ecclesiam insaciabili odio persecutus fuerat; Verum jam fratres ad nosmetipsos convertamur.

which thereupon she drew from her bosom dyed with the Apostle's blood. This created a great sensation in the palace, and while every one, the emperor included, was in great excitement and alarm, the Apostle entered the palace through closed doors, and predicted the approaching death of the emperor on account of his cruelties to the faithful.

P This account of the death and burial of Nero is tricked out by legend, and in many of its features unhistorical. It need not have been so; for from Herbert's Letters (Letter V., "Life and Letters," p. 64) we find that he must have been acquainted with Suetonius, whose works he asks Robert, Abbot of Fécamp, to get transcribed for him, as he could not find a copy in England. Perhaps the Abbot did not execute the commission. Perhaps he executed it; but Herbert did not turn to the transcript before he wrote this passage of his sermon, preferring to the authentic history some legendary account of Nero's end, into which, as he wrote on, he threw a little colour from the brush of his private fancy. The account given by Suetonius is, that after the defection of Vindex in Gaul, and of Galba in Spain, Nero was finally brought to bay by the announcement that the prætorians in Rome, at the instigation of Nymphidius Sabinus, had declared for Galba. He first called for a professional assassin to put an end to the life which he dared not take himself. No one replying, he rushed towards the Tiber, with the view of committing suicide by drowning. At this juncture Phaon, one of his freedmen, offered the Emperor his villa, which lay about four miles from the city; and thither Nero fled on horseback, barefooted, clad in a tunic over which was thrown an old worn-out cloak, and with head and face muffled up in a handkerchief. He was accompanied by Sporus, the slave-eunuch, who so much resembled his deceased wife, and whom (to the horror and disgust of all respectable people) he had married publicly in the preceding year, and by four other freedmen. As they rode along, shouts of "Galba" from a neighbouring camp burst upon their ears; the earth rocked under their feet, as if to cast them out, and the lightning flashed in their faces, as if to blast them, (no unmeet symbols of the wrath of Heaven against this monster of superhuman wickedness), and unsuspecting travellers whom they met asked whether they had news of Nero, or whether they were after him. Arrived at the bye-road which led to the villa, they turned their horses loose among the brushwood and brambles, and proceeded through a plot of ground planted with reeds to a pit at the back of the house, whence recently the sand and gravel had been shovelled out,—a place of concealment which the owner of the villa had probably thought might be some day needed by himself. Nero at first declined to enter the cavern, alleging that "he would never go underground alive." At length, urged by fear, he crept in on all fours through the narrow mouth of the pit, clearing away the

and the birds[p]. A just judgment, that he who had persecuted the Holy Church with a rancour that could not be appeased, should in his burial be joined with these.

But now, brethren, let us turn to ourselves, and, under

creepers which trailed over it. Here he found a rude couch with a pillow, on which he reclined, and, in preparation for death by his own hand, ordered his followers to dig a grave of exactly his own size. While this was being done, a slave of Phaon's found his way to the pit, bearing a despatch to the effect that Nero had been adjudged a public enemy by the Senate, and that search was being made for him, that he might be punished after the manner of the olden times. "And what manner is that?" said the fallen emperor. He was told that the criminal was to be stripped naked, and his neck being inserted into a fork, to which his hands were to be tied, he was thus to be scourged to death. Hereupon he took out two daggers, and felt their edges, but again shrunk back with terror, and returned them to their sheaths, observing that the fatal moment had not yet arrived. The trampling of horses outside seems at length to have given him the nerve he required for the act of suicide. With the assistance of his secretary Epaphroditus, he plunged a dagger into his throat. Immediately afterwards a centurion who was in quest of him burst into the cave. Nero's horse, startled on the road by an offensive smell from a corpse, had caused the fall of the handkerchief with which his rider's face was muffled, and had discovered the emperor to a prætorian who had left the service, and happened then to be passing. The consequence was a speedy pursuit. The centurion, perhaps wishing to disguise his purpose of apprehending Nero, perhaps desirous that such a monster should die by the hands of justice, applied the tattered cloak to the wound in his throat, by way of stanching the blood. "Too late!" cried the dying profligate, and then, glaring at the centurion, as a Roman soldier who owed him, and had vowed to him, allegiance, he gasped out, "And this is your fidelity!" with which words he expired, his eyes protruding from their sockets in a death-stare very dreadful to behold. As to his sepulchre, it may seem to a mediæval theologian, like our Herbert, very proper to "point a moral and adorn a tale," by making out that it was the maw of wolves, and the crop of birds; but unfortunately this was not the fact. Nero had made it a special request to his attendants that they would see his body secured from maltreatment and reduced to ashes. This was done with the connivance of the party in power; and the ashes, collected by his two nurses and his concubine Acte, and wrapped in a state-robe worn by him on New Year's Day, of white inwoven with gold, were committed with great pomp and lavish expenditure to the family sepulchre of the Domitii, of which the Campus Martius commanded a view, and where they occupied a porphyry sarcophagus, surmounted by an altar of Carrara marble. Of Nero, as of Dives, it is recorded that "he was buried,"—that funeral honours were paid to him after death,—a mocking and ghastly satire upon that "awakening unto shame and everlasting contempt," which awaits those who have set at defiance the laws of nature, of reason, of man, and of God.

et sub tanti doctoris et advocati patrocinio[q]. de nostra reconsciliatione confidimus (*sic*). Agamus penitentiam. fugiamus falsitatem. inhereamus veritati; Redemptor et salvator filius dei. ipse est judex noster mediator dei et hominum homo Christus ihesus. qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. AMEN.

[q] *Sub tanti doctoris et advocati patrocinio,*—"under the shadow of the patronage of so great a doctor and advocate." This most objectionable language is only an echo of that employed in the Collects of the Sarum Missal for the Commemoration of St. Paul (June 30) and for Sexagesima Sunday, (on which last day the Apostle's own account of his manifold labours and sufferings, as given in 2 Cor. xi. 19 *et seq.*, is appointed for the Epistle.)

The first of these Collects is as follows;

Deus, qui multitudinem gentium beati Pauli apostoli tui prædicatione docuisti; da nobis, quæsumus, ut cujus natalitia colimus, ejus apud te patrocinia sentiamus. Per Dominum.

O God, who by the preaching of Thy blessed Apostle St. Paul hast taught a multitude of nations; grant unto us, we beseech Thee, that we who are to-day celebrating his entrance upon everlasting life, may feel the benefits of his patronage and advocacy with Thee. Through the Lord.

the shadow of the patronage of so great a doctor and advocate, let us have confidence in our own reconciliation. Let us do penance; let us flee from falsehood; let us cleave unto the Truth. Our Redeemer and Saviour is the Son of God. He is our Judge, who is also *the mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus*, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth God for ever and ever. Amen. 1 Tim. ii. 5.

That for Sexagesima Sunday, which our Reformers have most wisely and rightly expurgated, ran as follows;

Deus, qui conspicis quia ex nulla nostra actione confidimus; concede propitius, ut contra omnia adversa doctoris gentium protectione muniamur. Per.

O God, who seest that we put not our trust in anything that we do; mercifully grant that by *the protection of the teacher of the Gentiles* we may be defended against all adversity. Through.

XII.

In red letters.

SERMO

DE ASSUMPTIONE BEATISSIME VIRGINIS MARIÆ.

f. 234 b. col. 2.

LOCUTURI de assumptione beatissime virginis mariæ pauca præstringamus[a] de prosapia. ortu. et vita. de conceptu et partu. et de his quæ in col-

[a] *præstringamus.* It is probable that here Herbert meant the *præ* to indicate that this notice of the Virgin's lineage, &c., was by way of exordium to his sermon. But in the classical use of the verb this meaning of the *præ* scarcely appears at all. The word means simply 'to graze,' 'touch the surface of.'

[b] See page 86, note o, in which is given a list of the seven Festivals of the Virgin observed in the mediæval Church. Of five of these only does the Church of England take any notice, providing services for the Purification (Feb. 2), and the Annunciation (March 25), and retaining in the Calendar, as Black Letter days, the Visitation (July 2), commemorating her visit to Elizabeth, the Nativity (Sept. 8), and the Conception (Dec. 8). The Visitation is, of course, a Scriptural incident, and one of great significance, which therefore there can be no objection to commemorate. The Conception and the Nativity of the mother of our Lord may be regarded as a kind of dawn of His own incarnation; and on that ground alone the names of these festivals are retained in the Calendar, though no sanction is hereby given to the fables and false doctrines connected with the events commemorated. It is not, be it observed, the *immaculate* conception of the Virgin, but only her conception, which we are reminded of on the 8th of December. The observance of this festival did not become general in the West till the fifteenth century; but the feast of the Virgin's Nativity was observed much earlier, the institution being ascribed to Pope Sergius, A.D. 695. The fact that the Assumption (Aug. 15) and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Nov. 21), are excluded from our Black Letter days, is sufficient to shew that the revision and expurgation of the Calendar, which took place at the Reformation, was conducted with great care and judgment, and that no trace of anything essentially connected with superstition and false doctrine was allowed to remain in it.

XII.

A SERMON

ON THE ASSUMPTION OF THE MOST BLESSED VIRGIN MARY[b].

BEING about to speak of the Assumption of the most blessed Virgin Mary, let us first run over a few points concerning her genealogy, lineage, and life, concerning

Of the festival of the Assumption, which is celebrated Aug. 15, Alban Butler says; "It is a traditionally pious belief that the body of the blessed Virgin was raised by God soon after her death, and assumed to glory, by a singular privilege, before the general resurrection of the dead." But he adds in a note; "That this historical tradition and pious belief or opinion is no article of faith, is proved by Baronius and others." The first author in point of date whom Butler refers to as an authority for the fact of the Assumption, is Gregory of Tours, who died in his cathedral city in 595. He wrote a work in eight books on the Lives of the Saints, but it has been so interpolated, that it is very difficult to say with certainty of any part of it, that it is to be attributed to him. Gregory of Tours was a cotemporary of Gregory the Great (A.D. 540—604), and in Gregory's Saçramentary we find the first liturgical notice of this festival for the eighteenth of the kalends of September. The collect for the day in this Sacramentary, which is also that appointed in the Missal of Sarum, is as follows;

Veneranda nobis, Domine, hujus diei festivitas opem conferat sempiternam, in qua sancta Dei genitrix mortem subiit temporalem, nec tamen mortis nexibus deprimi potuit; quæ Filium tuum Dominum nostrum de se genuit incarnatum. Qui tecum.

May the solemn festival of this day, O Lord, be the means of conferring upon us everlasting aid, on which the holy Mother of God underwent temporal death, and yet could not be holden by the bonds of death, who brought forth Thy Son our Lord incarnate of her substance. Who with Thee, &c.

It is curious to observe how learned Roman Catholics of the good old-fashioned school speak of this festival with a certain reserve, as, for instance, Alban Butler, who, after exhorting his readers "to receive with

legio suæ gloriosissimæ prolis facta sunt. Fuit beatissima virgo maria de genere abraæ. et tribu iuda, de radice iesse. filia david ingenua de ingenuis. et cui nulla de propagine macula inhesisset; Ioachim pater. anna mater. uterque sterilis. sed per virtutem sancti spiritus. et per annuntiationem gabrielis. fecunditatem meruerunt[c]; A pudicis parentibus pudica alitur virgo. et ab omni

deference a tradition so ancient and so well recommended to us as is this of the corporal assumption of the Virgin Mary," immediately adds, "'But then, that our piety may be discreet, we must imitate the moderation and the cautious reserve of our holy mother the Church, and not put mere opinions any way on a level with articles of faith, or matters of divine revelation." The Assumption of the Virgin went by several other names, being called by the Greeks her translation, and by the Latins her falling asleep, her cessation (*pausatio*), and her transit.

[c] Here we have an excellent instance of the meaning of the word *mereor* in the mediæval Latin, as often entirely destitute of the sense of merit. The words here can only mean, that through the power of the Holy Spirit and the prediction of the angel, they succeeded in obtaining offspring.

[d] But how was it that the original sin, which must have been in her ancestry, was not communicated to St. Mary? In our Blessed Lord's own case, seeing He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and that no human father was concerned in His generation, we can perfectly understand that His humanity, in its very earliest rudiment, was exempt from that inbred evil which characterizes our own; but the Virgin Mary's birth, having been in the usual order of nature, cannot have similarly exempted her from "the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam." We find that even among popes, until the formal promulgation of the dogma by Pio Nono, there has been the greatest hesitation on the subject. "S. Pius V., by his Bull in 1570, forbad either the opinion which affirmed the immaculate conception, *or that which denied it*, to be censured. Gregory XV., in 1622, gave the Dominicans a special licence to affirm that St. Mary was conceived in original sin, provided they did it privately and only among themselves. Alexander VII., in 1671, declared that the devotion of honouring the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin is pious, yet prohibits the censuring those who do not believe her conception immaculate." (See Alban Butler on Dec. 8, note 2.)

[e] The account will be found in full in the Codex of Fabricius, where the *Evangelium de Nativitate Mariæ* is the first treatise, a translation of which may be seen in Mr. Harris Cowper's "Apocryphal Gospels," [London, 1867]. In a passage from a sermon of St. Epiphanius, appointed

her conception and child-bearing, and concerning those things which were done in the company [of the Apostles] founded by her most glorious Son. The most blessed Virgin Mary was of the lineage of Abraham, and of the tribe of Judah. She sprang from the root of Jesse, she was a daughter of David, the noble child of noble parents; nor did any blemish attach to her from the stock from whence she was derived [d]. Joachim was her father, Anna her mother [e]. Both were barren; but by the power of the Holy Ghost, and by the annunciation of Gabriel, they obtained fruitfulness. By these modest parents the modest Virgin is nurtured, and being hidden from every-

in the Breviary to be read at the second Nocturn of the festival, it is said that Joachim means the preparation of the Lord, because from His substance there was prepared a temple for the Lord, namely, the blessed Virgin. The name Anna also is interpreted to mean "grace," because she and her husband received the grace of giving birth to such an offspring in answer to their prayers. The legend is that the pair lived for twenty years blameless, devoting a third of their substance to the service of the Temple, another third to the poor, and reserving only a third for their own wants. All this time, however, they were childless, with which circumstance the high-priest cruelly taunted Joachim on one of his visits to Jerusalem, refusing to accept his offering on the ground that the Scripture had said, "Cursed is he that doth not beget a man-child in Israel." Instead of looking out in his Concordance to see if such a passage existed, he was ashamed to return home, and withdrew to the society of his shepherds who were keeping his sheep. There an angel of the Lord appeared to him (it is not said Gabriel), who told him not to take to heart the high-priest's words, for that Sarah was childless until she was eighty, and Samuel's mother also was barren for a long period. Then the heavenly visitor announced the birth of the Virgin, in terms very similar to those actually employed in announcing the birth of John the Baptist, as a sign of which his wife was to meet him on his return to Jerusalem at the Golden Gate. Of the sources whence the characters of Joachim and Anna are derived, Mr. Harris Cowper speaks thus in his Introduction (p. xlix.); "The names and story of Joachim and Anna must not be regarded as an original creation, but rather as a re-modelling of pre-existing materials. The character of Joachim is a combination of Elkanah, the father of Samuel (1 Sam. i.), with Joachim, the husband of Susanna (Apocryphal Daniel xiii.), and Manoah, the father of Samson (Judges xiii.). Similarly, Anna is made up of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, and the wife of Manoah; possibly also the Anna of St. Luke (ii. 36—38) has not been overlooked. The angelic visions, promises, &c., made to Joachim and Anna, come especially from Judges, and 1 Sam. i."

vitiorum incentive (*sic*) abscondita. solius spiritus sancti præsentia et municione conservabatur; Unde hebrei eam dicunt oalma. id est abscondita. hoc est omnis peccati cognitionis et voluntatis inmunis; Federata fuit ioseph. sed vir grandevus. testis et custos sacræ virginitatis. nullis mariæ potitus est nuptiis; Ignara viri. concepit virum[f]. sed hujus spiritus sanctus operator fuit conceptionis; Sic enim paventi virgini prómittit angelus. Spíritus sanctus superveniet in te? et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi. et quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur filius dei. Virgo peperit. et quomodo nec conceptu? ita nec partu. singularis virginitatis violata est integritas. Verbum dei factum fuerat caro. lactabatur uberibus. involvebatur pannis. iacebat in cunis. ferebatur ulnis. sed hæc omnia beatissime virginis peragebantur obsequio;

[f] See our note on "Ignara viri parit virum" (evidently the same quotation as that before us, only with the substitution of *parit* for *concepit*), on Sermon I. p. 2, note b.

[g] "alone." There is a force in the word "alone." Mrs. Jameson, in her "Legends of the Madonna" (Lond., 1867, p. 151), tells us; "It is not said anywhere that St. Anna instructed her daughter. It has even been regarded as unorthodox to suppose that the Virgin, enriched from her birth, and before her birth, with all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, required instruction from any one."

[h] *Oalma.* Herbert doubtless gained this piece of information from St. Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah (Opp. tom. iii. col. 70, 71, Parisiis, 1704). Jerome is expounding the celebrated text, Isaiah vii. 14: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son," where the word used for *virgin* is הָעַלְמָה (*ha-ngalmah*), literally, *the* virgin. It has been thought to come from the root עָלַם (*ngā-lam*), which means, *he hid* or *concealed.* Jerome says that the usual word for a virgin in Hebrew is *Bethula*, and that this word *ngal-mah* is an ambiguous one, meaning sometimes a young maid, and sometimes *hidden.* When, therefore, it denotes a virgin, it is to be understood in an intensive sense, as "a virgin who has never been submitted to the gaze of men, but has been secluded with great diligence by her parents." He also says that in the Punic language, which is of Hebrew extraction, *alma* is the regular word for a virgin. Gesenius, with

thing which might provoke unto vice, was preserved by the presence and munition of the Holy Spirit alone [g]. Whence the Hebrews call her Oalma [h], that is, hidden; that is to say, free from all knowledge of sin, and from all will to it. She was affianced to Joseph; but that aged man [i], the witness and guardian of her sacred virginity, consummated not his marriage with Mary. She, who knew not a man, conceived a Man; but of this conception the Holy Ghost was the worker. For so the angel promiseth to the shrinking Virgin [k]; *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee. And . . . . the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.* The Virgin bare a Son, and as the integrity of her singular virginity was not broken by her conceiving [seed], so neither was it by her being delivered [of a Son]. *The Word* of God *was made flesh*, was suckled at the breasts, was wrapped in swaddling-clothes, lay in a cradle, was carried in arms; but all these things were transacted by the ministry of the most blessed Virgin. The Virgin

St. Luke i. 35.

St. John i. 14.

a sneer at Jerome, rejects the derivation from *ngā-lam*, *he hid*, and refers the word to an Arabic root, meaning *to be of marriageable age*.

Speaking of the Crusades in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (our Herbert's time), Mrs. Jameson, in the Introduction to her "Legends of the Madonna," tells us that "the returning wave of Oriental influences modified the representations of the Virgin. Fragments of the apocryphal gospels and legends of Palestine and Egypt were now introduced, worked up into ballads, stories, and dramas, and gradually incorporated into the teaching of the Church, . . . Among these were the legends of Joachim and Anna, and the death, the assumption, and the coronation of the Virgin." Herbert, as a mediæval divine of his period would be sure to do, has drawn largely upon these legendary sources.

[i] "aged man"—*grandævus*. This is the very word applied to Joseph in the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary (*Fab. Cod. Apocr.*, tom. i. p. 31); "erat autem inter cæteros Joseph homo de domo et familia David *grandævus*."

[k] "The shrinking Virgin"—*paventi virgini*. The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, however, will not allow that she was terrified by the sight of the angel, though the word *paveo* used by Herbert would indicate this. In describing the Annunciation, it says; "The Virgin, who already well knew the countenances of angels, and was not unused to heavenly light, was neither terrified by the angelic vision, nor stupefied by the greatness of the light, but was troubled at his word alone."

Virgo dominum ad templum tulit. deo optulit. cunctorum inmunem peccatorum legalibus hostis expiavit. Virgo dominum in egiptum tulit. ab egipto retulit. et ne herodianis interciperetur insidiis. pia sollicitudine conservavit; Baptizando baptismate iohannis interfuit filio. et reserata in baptiszato domino sanctæ trinitatis sacramenta[1]. prudentia virgo intellexit. In nuptiis commutata est aqua in vinum. virgine faciente miraculum. dum coegit filium ut faceret miraculum; Postremo beatissima et evangelica virgo[m] nostri salvatoris cunctis interfuit miraculis. et operibus. interfuit doctrinis. et sermonibus. interfuit interrogationibus.

[1] See our note on the word *sacramentum* above, p. 23, I. (a).

[m] There is no Scriptural authority whatever for this assertion, that the Virgin was present at the Baptism of our Lord. From the commencement of her Son's ministry a veil is thrown over her, and we are allowed no glimpse of her, except, 1. at the marriage in Cana; 2. on her attempting to speak with Him when He was surrounded by a multitude; 3. at the Crucifixion; and 4. during the days succeeding the Ascension. But it was the genius of that corrupt mediæval theology, which culminated in full-blown Romanism, to thrust St. Mary into the place of her divine Son, and to make out that her body, not His, was the temple for the indwelling of the Holy Trinity. This connexion of hers with the Holy Trinity may be seen worked out in a very painful and distressing form in Dr. Raphael Melia's book, "Mary the Object of Veneration, Confidence, and Imitation to all Christians" (London, 1868). Now there was a remarkable manifestation of the Holy Trinity at the Baptism of our Lord, He Himself being the Son of God, while the voice represented the Father, and the dove the Holy Spirit. Hence came the tendency to slip her into that scene, thus making her a witness of its glory, in order that with the greater show of reason she might be represented as partaking in it.

[n] This is full-blown Romanism, so much so that mediæval divines of a much later date than Herbert, writing at a time when religion was much more thoroughly eaten into by the Roman gangrene, would hesitate to use such expressions. Dr. Raphael Melia's exposition of the transaction ("Mary the Object of Veneration," &c., pp. 222, 223), is hardly less offensive; "In the first place it is to be considered, that it was to please His beloved Mother that Jesus Christ altered even the established order of Providence. This appears from His answer to Mary, when He said to her, 'My hour is not yet come;' that is to say, 'The time fixed by My Father to work miracles has not yet come;' or, better, 'The time for

brought the Lord to the temple, presented Him unto God, and made atonement with the sacrifices of the Law for Him who was free from all sins. The Virgin carried the Lord into Egypt, and carried Him back from Egypt, and preserved Him with devout carefulness, lest He should be caught in the snares which Herod laid for Him. She was present when her Son was baptized with the baptism of John [m], and by her wisdom she understood the symbols of the Holy Trinity, which were revealed in the Lord at His Baptism. At the wedding the water was turned into wine, the Virgin doing that miracle, since she compelled her Son to do it [n]. Finally, the most blessed and evangelical [o] Virgin was present at all the miracles and works of our Saviour, was present at His instructions [p], and His sermons;

working miracles established by Me with My Father has not yet arrived; nevertheless, to meet the desire of My Mother, I will alter this time and work the miracle.'"

The words, "What have I to do with thee?" have generally been understood by the Fathers as implying a gentle reproof; (thus Irenæus, iii. 16. 7, "Dominus repellens intempestivam ejus festinationem dixit, *Quid mihi et tibi, mulier?*"); and this is the commentary upon them of the excellent Pasquier Quesnel, written more than five hundred years after Herbert: "Jesus-Christ aime mieux paroître traiter sa sainte mère avec quelque dureté, que de manquer à donner aux peres et aux meres en sa personne cet avis important: De ne prétendre pas regler les actions de leurs enfans pour ce qui regarde leur vocation ou leurs fonctions ecclésiastiques, ni les porter à faire des actions éclatantes pour s'en faire honneur, ce qui étoit bien éloigné de la pensée de la sainte Vierge."

[o] *evangelica virgo.* The meaning of calling St. Mary the evangelical Virgin must be that to her, at her Annunciation, the Gospel was first preached. But the adjective would be more naturally applied to something which conveys the Gospel, than to some one to whom it is conveyed. Thus in Tertullian we have the phrase *Evangelica Scriptura*, "the Scripture which conveys the Gospel;" and in Prudentius, the words *Vox Evangelica* are used of the sound of the Gospel, as conveyed by missionaries to barbarous countries. (Facciolati. But see below, note t.)

[p] When Herbert tells us that the Virgin was present at the instructions and sermons (*doctrinis et sermonibus*) of her divine Son, he must have overlooked the account, given by all three Synoptists, of her attempt to "come at him" while He was preaching to the multitude. (See St. Matt. xii. 46 to end; St. Mark iii. 31 to end; St. Luke viii. 19—21.) Our Lord's recognition of the spiritual bond which links Him to the true disciple, as superseding that which bound Him to His mother, is apt to be

f. 235. et responsionibus. interiuit passioni. cruci. et morti. ubi dilecto dictum est discipulo; Mulier inquit dominus. ecce filius tuus? ad discipulum autem ecce mater tua; Dispersi? ad virginem collecti sunt apostoli. et quos iudeorum perfidia et romanorum impietas persequebatur? hi sub unius virginis protectione. conservati sunt. Resurrexit dominus. sed tanti gaudii rumores? primum omnes virgini recitabantur. Ascendit. super celos dominus. et sue castissime matri. præparavit immortalitatis locum. et quam in terris fecerat apostolam apostolorum. eandem super astra dominam angelorum constituit. et omnium beatorum spirituum; Hæc est igitur illa præclara festivitas.

distasteful to those who would raise the Virgin to a pinnacle on which God's word has certainly not placed her.

[q] A compendium of the apocryphal narrative of the Assumption of the Virgin, which is falsely ascribed to St. John, may be found in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus à Voragine (ed. Graesse, Dresden and Leipsic, 1846, p. 504). We there read that some twelve years after our Lord's ascension, an angel appeared to St. Mary to announce her assumption after death, whereupon she asked that her children and brethren, the Apostles, might be gathered together to her before she died, and that in their presence she might yield up her spirit to God. The request was granted, John being caught away in a bright cloud as he was preaching at Ephesus, to Mary's house, near Mount Zion, and at his prayer to that effect the other Apostles being similarly translated from their respective spheres of work. We suppose this is the gathering together to which Herbert alludes, though he somewhat confusedly places it out of its historical sequence, and before the resurrection and ascension of our Lord.

[r] It would be interesting to trace chronologically the growth of the various legends respecting the Virgin, and the gradual departures from the testimony of Holy Scripture on the subject. There is no reason why what Herbert says here should not have been true. At all events, the tidings of our Lord's resurrection would naturally have been conveyed to the Virgin very early, and she must have been one of the first to receive it. We have not the book at hand; but, if we remember rightly, Maldonatus, the Jesuit commentator, says that although Holy Scripture states that the risen Saviour appeared first to St. Mary Magdalen, this would so conflict with natural piety to His mother, that we must believe Him to have appeared first to her. "Mediæval imagination has supposed, but Scrip-

was present at the questions [put to Him], and the answers [He gave to them]; was present at His Passion, His Cross, and His Death, when of the beloved disciple it was said, *Woman, behold thy son;* and to the disciple, *Behold thy mother.* The Apostles, after they were scattered abroad, were often gathered together to the Virgin; and those whom the treachery of the Jews and the ungodliness of the Romans persecuted, were kept in safety under the protection of a single Virgin[q]. The Lord rose again; but the tidings of this great joy were rehearsed unto the Virgin first of all[r]. The Lord ascended up above the heavens, and prepared for His most chaste mother a mansion of immortality; and her whom on earth He had made an apostle of the apostles[s], He set above the stars to be the mistress of angels, and of all the blessed spirits. This, therefore, is that glorious

See John xix. 26, 27.

ture does not state, that her Son appeared to Mary after His resurrection from the dead. St. Ambrose is considered to be the first writer who suggested the idea, and reference is made to his treatise *De Virginitate*, i. 3; but it is quite certain that the text has been corrupted, and that it is of Mary Magdalen that he is there speaking." (Rev. Prebendary Meyrick's Article on MARY THE VIRGIN in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible.") Eadmer, in his book on the excellency of the Virgin Mary (chap. vi.), attempts to get over the difficulty arising from the silence of Scripture on the subject, by observing that Scripture says nothing superfluous; that it would have been superfluous to tell us that Christ appeared first to His mother; and that the making mention of such an appearance, would have been to put St. Mary on a level with the ordinary men and women to whom He is said to have appeared. Now Eadmer was a contemporary of Herbert's, and therefore the notion of the risen Saviour having appeared first to His mother must have been broached in Herbert's days. But Herbert himself had not received it, or it is pretty certain that he would not have been contented with saying in the place before us, that the tidings of the resurrection were conveyed to His mother before any one else received them.

[s] "An apostle of the apostles." An attribute of St. Mary Magdalene is here attributed to the Blessed Virgin. She may justly be called an apostle of the apostles, inasmuch as the apostles were witnesses of the resurrection (Acts i. 22), and she was a witness of the resurrection to St. Peter and St. John (St. John xx. 1, 2), but the name of our Lord's mother does not appear in any Scriptural account of the resurrection. But as Herbert calls the Virgin an apostle of the apostles, he may probably mean to indicate by the epithet Evangelical applied to her above, not only that she received the glad tidings herself, but that she communicated it to others. (See above, note o, p. 335.)

in qua beatissima virgo meruit exaltari super choros angelorum. et pervenire ultra quam nostre humanitatis est natura. ad ethereum videlicet thalamum [t]. Ubi non tollitur substantia. sed gloriæ magnitudo monstratur. cum elevatur in dexteram patris. ubi introivit Christus pontifex factus in æternum ad cœli palatium; Hæc est inquam dies in qua usque ad troni [u] (*sic*) celsitudinem intemerata mater et virgo processit. atque in regni solio [x] sullimata. post Christum gloriosa resedit; Quam gloriam spiritus sanctus admiratus. cœlesti prosequitur laude. Quæ est inquit ista quæ ascendit per desertum. sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus? Et bene quasi virgula fumi. quia gracilis et dedicata [x]. quia divinis extenuata disciplinis. et concremata intus in holocaustum incendio pii amoris. et desiderio caritatis; Ut virgula fumi inquit ex aromatibus. Nimirum [y] quia multis re-

[t] *Ad ethereum thalamum*—"to the bride-chamber of the highest heaven." The word *thalamus* means a 'bridal bed,' and is probably used to indicate that Mary was received in heaven as the bride of God. The word *æther* (=αἰθήρ), as distinct from *aër*, means the higher as distinct from the lower atmosphere. It is used only twice in the Vulgate ("Behold the sky, that it is higher than thou," Job xxxv. 5; "When he established the sky above," Prov. viii. 28), and the adjective *æthereus* never. (See below, note g, pp. 343, 344.)

[u] There seems to be no real difference in meaning between *thronus* and *solium*, as they occur in this passage. The first is a Greek word transferred to the Latin language; the second, a Latin word connected with the verb *sedeo*, 'to sit,' *d* and *l* being not unfrequently exchanged for one another in comparative etymology, as in δάκρυ, *lacrima*; Ὀδυσσεύς, *Ulysses*.

[x] The manuscript has *dedicata*, but evidently this is a mistake for *delicata*, an adjective connected with *deliciæ*.

[y] *nimirum*. This word, which is compounded of the negative *ni* or *ne* and *mirum*, means originally 'it is no wonder,' 'it would be strange if it were not so,' and hence 'doubtless,' 'indisputably,' 'certainly.'

[z] In a hymn of Adam of St. Victor's—a writer of the twelfth century, rather later than Herbert—we find the following;

festival, in which the most blessed Virgin obtained an exaltation above all the companies of the angels[z], and attained a height beyond that which it is possible for our human nature to attain, even the bride-chamber of the highest heaven; and there the substance [of her womanhood] is not abolished, but the greatness of her glory is shewn forth, she being exalted to the right hand of the Father, even to the palace of heaven, whither Christ hath entered in, Who is *made a high-priest for ever*. This, I say, is the day on which the undefiled mother and Virgin was advanced, even to the lofty [dignity] of the throne, and, being exalted upon the royal seat, sat down in her glory next after Christ. In admiration of which glory, the Holy Ghost celebrateth it with heavenly praise. *Who*, saith He, *is she that goeth up by the desert, as a pillar of smoke of aromatical spices?* Well saith He *as a pillar of smoke*, because she is slight and delicate, because she is made slender by divine chastisements, and is consumed within by the fire of devout love and the longings of charity, so as to be a whole burnt-offering. *As a pillar of smoke* saith He, *of aromatical spices*. And of a surety, be-

Heb. vi. 20.

Cant. iii. 6.

Super choros exaltata	Exalted above the choirs
Angelorum, est prælata	Of angels, she is preferred
Cunctis cœli civibus.	Above all the citizens of heaven.
In decore contemplatur	Her Son in His beauty
Natum suum, et precatur	She contemplates, and makes intercession
Pro cunctis fidelibus.	For all the faithful.

And, in another hymn of the same author's;

O Maria, pro tuorum	O Mary, according to the
Dignitate meritorum,	Dignity of thy deserts,
Supra choros angelorum	Over the choirs of angels
Sublimaris unice:	Thou art singularly exalted.
Felix dies hodierna	Blessed is this day
Qua conscendis ad superna!	On which thou didst ascend up on high!
Pietate tu materna	With motherly affection and care
Nos in imo respice.	Look on us below.

(*Œuvres Poétiques d'Adam de St. Victor*, Paris, 1859, pp. 128, 136).

pleta erat virtutum odoribus. manans ex ea flagrabat[a] suavissimus odor. etiam spiritibus angelicis; Ascendebat autem de deserto præsentis sœculi virga de race (*sic*) iesse olim exorta. sed mirabantur animæ electorum præ gaudio quæna (*sic*) esset. quæ etiam meritorum virtutibus. angelorum vinceret dignitatem; De qua rursus spiritus sanctus in eisdem canticis. Quæ est ista que ascendit inquit quasi aurora consurgens? Pultra (*sic*) ut luna electa ut sol[b]? terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata; Admiratur enim spiritus sanctus
f. 235, col. 2. quia omnes* de ascensu hujus virginis admirantes facit. quod quasi novi diluculi aurora rutilans ascensu suo resplendeat. multis freta et vallata. sanctorum agminibus; Unde dicitur. Terribilis

[a] *flagrabat.* Here again we think the MS. must be at fault, and that the true reading is *fragrabat*, from *fragro*, 'to emit a smell.'

[b] *electa ut sol*, properly, 'elect as the sun.' This is the Vulgate translation; but there would seem to be some mistake, for how can the sun be called elect? The Douay version has, "bright as the sun," while our own Authorised version is "clear as the sun."

The *electa* is only a literal translation of the Septuagint, which has ἐκλεκτὴ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. Possibly the ἐκλεκτὴ crept into this verse from the preceding, where it is said of the Bride, ἐκλεκτή ἐστι τῇ τεκούσῃ αὐτήν.

It will be observed, however, that a few lines further on Herbert makes a point out of the word "chosen" or "elect." Mary, he says, is so called, because the Sun of Righteousness chose to be born of her.

[c] At the end of Herbert's strained and far-fetched application of this passage to the Virgin Mary, we think it well to notice the true application of it. Briefly, then, it describes the Bride's entry into the city of David, in order to her espousals. The Bride is the Church, the Jewish Church in the first instance, which came up from the wilderness of Sinai into the inheritance of the promised land, where she was solemnly espoused to God ("I am married unto you, saith the Lord," Jer. iii. 14), and who will hereafter, at the time of Israel's conversion, be brought up from the wilderness of the people (Ezek. xx. 35); and the Gentile Church, the members of which wandered in a spiritual wilderness originally, *having no hope, and without God in the world, but being made nigh by the blood of Christ*, and being sanctified and cleansed with the washing of water by the word, will be presented unto Him hereafter a glorious Church, not

cause she was filled with the odours of many virtues, a most sweet and fragrant savour transpired from her, and flowed forth even unto the blessed spirits [of heaven]. And it was from *the desert* [c] of the present world that she came up, a rod which sprang from the ancient root of Jesse [d]. But the souls of the elect wondered for very joy who she could be, who surpassed in virtues and merits even the dignity of Angels. Of whom the Holy Ghost again speaketh in the same song. *Who is she that cometh forth,* saith He, *as the morning rising, fair as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as an army set in array?* For the Holy Ghost [is said to] admire, because He maketh all to admire concerning the coming up of this Virgin, that she shineth in her coming up as if it were the shining morning of a new dawn, being supported and encompassed with many armies of the Saints [e]. Whence it is

Cant. vi. 9.

having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, (see Eph. ii. 12, and v. 26, 27,) and affianced to Him in an eternal wedlock. We give the exposition of the "pillar of smoke" from the Speaker's Bible. "The phrase recurs, 'Like pillars of smoke,' Joel ii. 30, expressing one of the images of terror in the latter day: here it is an image of delight and pleasure. Frankincense and other perfumes are burned in such abundance round the bridal equipage, that the whole procession appears from the distance to be one of moving wreaths and columns of smoke."

[d] For the confusion made by mediæval authors between the *virga*, or rod out of the root of Jesse, and the Virgin, see a full note above, pp. 50, 51, m. In Adam de St. Victor's poetical works above quoted (Paris, 1859, p. 377), we find a hymn beginning thus for the festivals of the Virgin;

Jesse virgam humidavit	The dew of divine mercy
Et in fructum fecundavit	Moistened the rod of Jesse,
Ros misericordiæ;	And made it bring forth fruit;
Fructus mundo medicinam	The fruit gave healing
Dedit, et mundi ruinam	To the world, and raised up the ruins
Relevavit hodie.	Of the world, as on this day.

[e] Alban Butler, in his "Lives of the Saints," takes up the note which divines long before him were accustomed to take up, in singing the praises and glories of St. Mary. Speaking of her Assumption he says, "With what honour do we think God Himself received His mother into His kingdom! What glory did He bestow on her whom He exalted above the highest cherubims, and placed on a throne raised above all the choirs of His blessed spirits! The seraphims, angels, and all the other glorious inhabitants of His kingdom, seeing the graces with which she was adorned,

ut castrorum acies ordinata; Siquidem terribilis suis facta virtutibus. ut castrorum acies ad modum adornata. Hinc inde angelorum fulta præsidiis; Pulcra ut luna. immo pulcrior quam luna quia jam sine defectu sui. coruschat celestibus illustrata fulgoribus. Electa ut sol fulgore virtutum. quia ipse eam elegit sol iusticie. ut nasceretur ex ea; Ad cujus profecto exequias quantum valet credere famulabantur angeli. et universæ cœlorum curiæ

and the dazzling beauty and lustre with which she shone forth as she mounted on high from the earth, cried out in amaze, *Who is she that cometh up from the desert, flowing with charms and delights, leaning on her beloved?*"

[f] The real application of the text is, of course, to the Church of Christ, which is described, in Rev. xii. 1, "as a woman clothed with the sun," because by faith she has put on Christ, Gal. iii. 27. "Here also we may observe in her the degrees of grace, her first light being like the *morning* or day-dawning; her second beauty, like the *moone;* her third degree, like the *sun* itselfe in brightnesse. And so it is said, 'The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day,' Prov. iv. 18. The Church, moreover, is *terrible* to the enemies with whom she is to fight under the banner of Christ's Gospell and love, Song. ii. 4, having the weapons of her warfare, not carnall but mighty through God, to the pulling downe of strong holds, &c., 2 Cor. x. 4. So Israel was a people saved by the Lord, the shield of their helpe, and who was the sword of their excellency, Deut. xxxiii. 29. 'God did put the dread of them, and the feare of them, upon the nations, under the whole heaven: who heard the report of them, and trembled,' Deut. ii. 25." (Ainsworth on the Song of Solomon.)

[g] The account given in the *Legenda Aurea* is, that St. Mary died with the *Magnificat* in her mouth; and that, her soul having made its exit from the body and flown into her Son's arms, "the Lord said to the Apostles, 'Carry ye the body of My Virgin Mother into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and deposit it in a new tomb which ye will find there, and wait for Me there three days until I return unto you.' And immediately there surrounded her rosy blossoms of roses, to wit, the companies of the martyrs, and lilies of the valley, to wit, *armies of angels*, confessors, and virgins. . . . . Then, at the melodies of the ascending train, *the heavenly choirs, which had remained behind* wondering at the spectacle, *went in haste to meet them*, and beholding their King carrying the woman's soul in His own arms, and that soul leaning upon Him, were stricken with amazement and began to cry, 'Who is she that cometh up from the desert, flowing with delights, leaning upon her beloved?' To whom they that accompanied her answered, 'This is the beautiful one among the daugh-

said; *Terrible as an army set in array.* Made terrible, that is, by her virtues, as an army set in array, and exceedingly adorned, as being supported on this side and on that by guards of angels. *Fair as the moon;* yea, more beautiful than the moon, because now she shineth without eclipse, lit up with heavenly splendours. *Chosen, as the sun,* for the bright shining of her virtues; because the Sun of Righteousness Himself chose her to be born of her[f]. At her burial in good sooth, as we may lawfully believe, the angels gave their services, and all the companies of heaven presented their salutations[h].

ters of Jerusalem, as ye have seen her full of charity and love.' And so was she taken up into heaven rejoicing, and is set on the right hand of her Son in the throne of glory; and the Apostles saw her soul to be of such a snowy whiteness as no tongue of mortal could possibly express." The body was then washed by three virgins, emitting such a dazzling radiance the while that, though it could be felt and touched, it could not be looked upon. When the Apostles had placed it on the bier, it was arranged that St. John, as being the virgin Apostle and the bosom friend, should carry the starry palm-branch before it, St. Peter and St. Paul carrying the bier. And as they lifted it, Peter precented; 'Israel came out of Egypt, Alleluia!' The other Apostles took up the strain; and the Lord so shrouded the funeral procession in a cloud, that while the voices of the Apostles were heard, their persons were not seen. "There were *present also angels with the Apostles, blending with them in harmony,* and filling all the earth with a sound of wonderful sweetness." The Apostles, as they had been bidden, carried the body to the new tomb in the valley of Jehoshaphat; and "on the third day Jesus came *with a multitude of angels* and saluted them, saying, 'Peace be unto you,' to which they answered, 'Glory be to thee, O God, who alone doest great marvels.' And the Lord said unto the Apostles; 'What grace and honour seemeth it to you that I should now confer on my mother?' And they answered; 'It seemeth meet and right to Thy servants, O Lord, that as Thou, after having conquered death, reignest for ever, so Thou shouldest raise up the body of Thy mother, Blessed Jesus, and set it at Thy right hand to all eternity.' And the Lord signifying His assent to this, *the archangel Michael* appeared forthwith, and presented the soul of Mary before the Lord. Then spake the Saviour, and said; 'Arise, My next of kin, My dove, the tabernacle of glory, the vessel of life, the heavenly temple; that as thou knewest no stain of sin by intercourse with man, so thou mayest in no wise suffer the dissolution of the body in the grave.' And immediately the soul of Mary came into her body, which thereupon came forth from the tomb in glory, and thus was caught up to the heavenly bride-chamber, an innumerable company of angels escorting her."

The words translated "heavenly bride-chamber," are *æthereus thalamus,*

gratulabantur. Nec mirum quia honor maternus eius est qui est natus ex ea. quem omnis cœlorum ordo veneratur. et adorat. super se elevatum cum patre in sede majestatis dei; Legimus ergo quam sepe[h] ad funera quorumlibet sanctorum angelos advenisse. et ad exequias eorum obsequia præstitisse. necnon et animas electorum usque ad cœlos cum ymnis et laudibus detulisse. ubi et utriusque sexus chori commemorantur. frequenter auditi laudes cecinisse. Interea et quod perspicatius est multo nonnunquam lumine eósdem resplenduisse. insuper et adhuc viventes in carne ibidem miram flagrantiam diutius persensisse; Quod si ad recreandam spem dilectissimi. et corroborandam fidem interdum astantium salvator noster Christus ob merita suorum amplius comprobanda. talia ac tanta dignatus est exhibere

the very words which Herbert had used above (see note t, p. 338). This leads us to think that he was familiar with the account given in the *Legenda Aurea*, which was doubtless drawn from previously-written records.

Speaking of the entombment of the Blessed Virgin as represented in art, Mrs. Jameson says, that often there is "a sarcophagus in the centre of the picture, and the body lies extended above it, on a sort of sheet or pall held by angels or Apostles." ("Legends of the Madonna," p. 317.)

[h] *quam sæpe*, probably for *quam sæpissime*. Assisting angels are a very frequent concomitant of the interment of saints.

[i] It is interesting to mark how, even as early as Herbert's time, the erroneous and unscriptural phraseology of the souls of the righteous being conveyed to heaven immediately after death, was adopted even by divines. But, doubtless, this would be esteemed to be the privilege of Saints alone, not of ordinary good Christians. The views of Eschatology prevalent at the period of the Reformation may be briefly stated as follows*. It was held just possible for a man, at the end of his earthly life, to reach the goal for which he had been created, that is, heaven. Such an one, by a diligent use of the means of grace and the practice of piety, would appear before God, at the moment of death, free from all debt of temporal penalty, and so would pass at once to heavenly bliss. This, however, would happen only to a very few. The great majority of men would die

* This statement is abbreviated from an article in the "Church Quarterly Review" for July, 1877, which is headed "The Annihilation of the Wicked."

Nor can this be wondered at; because honour done to His mother belongeth to Him who was born of her, Whom the whole host of heaven fears and adores, as exalted above themselves together with the Father, on the throne of the Majesty of God. We read therefore very frequently that at the deaths of certain Saints, the angels have come to [the earth], and have done reverent service at their burials; and moreover have brought the souls of the elect on their way to heaven[1] with hymns and praises, in which traditions mention is made of singers of both sexes, who have been frequently heard chanting praises [on behalf of the departed]. And meanwhile, as is still more evident, [it is said] that these [heavenly beings] have sometimes shone forth with great light; and moreover that those who yet live in the flesh have perceived in that spot a wonderful blaze and glow [lingering for] a long time. But, dearly beloved brethren, if for the animating of the hope and strengthening of the faith of them that stand by, our Saviour Christ, that the righteousnesses of His own people might be more abundantly approved, hath some-

in a very different state. They would pass out of this world more or less affected by sin. Either they would appear before God forgiven, but with a debt of temporal penalty, greater or smaller; or else unforgiven, having died impenitent and in deadly sin. Hence it was held that at the moment of death every soul must appear before the judgment-seat of God, in order to have its place assigned to it in the future world. This was the *first* or *particular* judgment; the *last* or *general* judgment would take place at the Great Day, when the Lord Jesus would come in glory, and the dead would be raised.

The places to which a soul might be consigned at the moment of death were three: hell, purgatory, heaven. Into hell were cast all who were finally determined to evil, all who had died impenitent, unforgiven, and in deadly sin. . . . Into purgatory were sent all who, having died forgiven, had not yet paid the full temporal penalty of their sins. Purgatory would be the fate of the great majority of men who die penitent; for of how few of the ordinary class of Christians could it be said that they have no debt of temporal penalty to pay?

In regard to heaven, we need not say much. Those only were admitted to it at once, who passed out of this life without debt of temporal penalty; all others, only after having discharged the debt of purgatory. The bliss of heaven consisted in the beatific vision, but there were many different

per suos celi ministros circa defunctos. quanto magis credendum hodierna die militiam cœlorum cum suis sanctis agminibus. festive obviam venisse genitrici dei. eamque ingenti lumine circumfulsisse. et usque ad tronum olim sibi etiam ante constitutionem mundi paratum. cum laudibus et canticis spiritualibus perduxisse; Nulli dubium est omnem illam cœlestem ierusalem tunc ineffabili exultasse leticia. tunc jocundatam esse. in-
f. 235 b. estimabili caritate. tuncque cum omni gratulatione iubilasse. quoniam hec est festivitas. que nobis revolvitur annua. illis omnibus facta est continua. Nec inmerito. Creditur enim quod salvator omnium. ipse quantum datur intelligi per se totus festivus occurrit. et cum gaudio eam secum in throno collocavit; Alias autem quomodo implevisse creditur. quod in lege ipse præcepit? Honora inquit patrem tuum. et matrem tuam; Porro quod patrem honoravit ipse sibi testis est cum ad iudeos ait. Ego gloriam meam non quero est qui querat et judicet. Sed ego honorifico patrem meum. et vos inhonorastis me. De matre vero? evangelista ita dicit; Cum redirent et venirent nazaret? erat subditus illis. Sed alia est natura quod deus pater secundum se honoratur[k].

degrees of glory and of reward, according to the saying of our Blessed Lord, "In my Father's house are many mansions."

[k] We can only construe this passage by supposing that the *se* refers to Christ. The *quod* before *deus pater* seems to be an error of the copyist for *qud*. As to the sentiment, we may compare St. Gregory (*Mag. Mor.*, lib. 18, in cap. xxviii. Job); "Et quamvis ipse aliud ex Patre, aliud ex Virgine; non tamen alius ex Patre, alius ex Virgine: sed ipse est æternus ex Patre, ipse temporalis ex matre."

[l] The answer to this argument drawn from the Fourth Commandment is, that our Blessed Lord gradually liberated Himself, not, indeed, from

times deigned (by the means of His heavenly ministers) to show such great signs and wonders about the dead; how much more is it to be believed that to-day the armies of heaven came with their holy bands to meet the Mother of God with glad solemnity, and shone around her with a great light, and brought her on her way with praises and spiritual songs, unto the throne prepared for her of old even before the foundation of the world. . Who can doubt that all the heavenly Jerusalem then exulted with unspeakable joy, was then delighted with God's inestimable love, and kept jubilee with every form of gratulation? For this is a festivity which to us cometh round but once in the year; but to them all it is made perpetual. And rightly so. For it is thought that the Saviour of all Himself in His own Person, as far as it is permitted to us to understand these things, met her with festive solemnity, and with joy placed her by His own side on the throne. For otherwise, how can it be thought that He fulfilled that which in the Law He Himself commanded? *Honour thy father and thy mother*[1], saith He. Moreover He Himself beareth witness unto Himself that He honoured *His Father*, when He saith unto the Jews; *I seek not my own glory: there is one that seeketh and judgeth. But I honour my Father, and you have dishonoured me.* But of His mother the Evangelist saith thus; When they returned and were come unto Nazareth, He was *subject to them.* But the nature in which, as He saith Himself, He hon-

See St. Matt. xxv. 34.

See Heb. xii. 22.

Exod. xx. 12.

St. John viii. 50.

St. John viii. 49.

See St. Luke ii. 51.

our human nature, with all the sympathies of which He is still invested on the heavenly throne, but from those earthly relationships which were involved in His sonship to St. Mary. At the marriage in Cana, He taught the Virgin, that in the exercise of His divine power she must not seek to control Him (St. John ii. 4). When she would fain have interrupted Him in His preaching, He says with great emphasis, that the spiritual tie between Him and His disciples must take precedence of the tie of natural relationship (St. Matt. xii. 48—50). When she was eulogized in His hearing for having brought forth and bred such a Son, He again intimated that the blessedness of the docile and obedient disciple exceeded hers (St. Luke xi. 27, 28). And finally, after making provision for her in His dying moments, He seems finally to devolve upon another the relationship to her which He had hitherto held. (St. John xix. 26, 27.)

alia qua item parentibus subditur; In utraque tamen unus idemque Christus recte creditur. eo quod verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis. unus est emmanuel? quod nobiscum deus; Precessit itaque filius ad cœlum. et die hodierna suam castissimam matrem ad ethereum vocavit talamum (*sic*). Veni inquit columba mea. inmaculata mea? jam enim hyemps abiit et recessit. Ac deinde inquit. Veni de libano veni; Nec inmerito igitur venire de libano jubetur. quia libanus candidatio interpretatur; Erat enim candidata multis meritorum virtutibus. et dealbata[m] nive candidius spiritus sancti muneribus. simplicitatem columbæ in omnibus repræsentans. quoniam quicquid in ea gestum est totum puritas et simplicitas. totum pura gratia fuit? totum misericordia et justicia. que de cœlo prospexit. Et ideo inmaculata? quia in nulla[n] corrupta. Circumdedit enim virum in utero. sicut ieremias sanctus testatur.

So that in His glorified state Christ, though still akin to all humanity, is not more allied to one member of the human family than to another, as St. Paul intimates (2 Cor. v. 16); "Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more."

[m] We take the *dealbata* as being the ablative case agreeing with *nive*. In classical Latin this verb means 'to whitewash;' and it appears in an interesting proverb, *Duo parietes dealbare de eadem fidelia*, 'to whitewash two walls from the same pot,' i.e. to kill two birds with one stone. In the mediæval Latin, the word has several significations. It is used (1) of the restitution of its original colour to old metal when minted afresh; (2) of investing with the white robe called a chrisom, formerly used at Baptism and Confirmation; (3) of whitewashing a bankrupt, as Ducange thinks; and (4) it is applied to a Society which in the year 1399 perambulated Italy, making solemn prayers for peace. The members of it were called *dealbati*, as dressed in white robes.

[n] We can make nothing of *nulla*. Probably the text is corrupt.

[o] Of the meaning of the word "Lebanon" Bede says; "Libanus, if we follow the Hebrew etymology, means *whiteness;* if the Greek, *in-*

oureth God the Father, and that in which He is subject unto His parents, are different. But in both natures, the right faith is that there is one and the same Christ, because *the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.* There is one *Emmanuel, which (being interpreted) is, God with us.* And so the Son went before unto heaven, and as on this day called His most chaste mother to the heavenly bride-chamber. *Come,* saith He, *my dove, my undefiled; for now the winter is departed and gone.* And afterwards He saith, *Come from Libanus, come.* Justly, then, is she bidden to come from Libanus, because Libanus is, by interpretation, a making white[o]. For she was made white with many virtues and merits, yea, whiter than the driven snow was she made by the gifts of the Holy Ghost; and showed forth in all things the simplicity of the dove, since whatever was done in her was all purity and simplicity, was all pure grace, was all the mercy and the justice which looked down from heaven. And therefore is she called undefiled, because in nothing was she corrupt. For she encompassed a man in her womb,

St. John i. 14. St. Matt. i. 23. See Cant. ii. 10, 11; and v. 2. Cant. iv. 8.

cense." Bede, however, makes the Church, or the soul of the faithful, not Mary, to be the bride. That she is supposed to be posted on Lebanon means, according to him, that she has the white raiment of righteousness, and offers the pure incense of prayer; and the exhortation to come from Lebanon is, in his view, an exhortation to press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling by meditation, holy endeavour, holy aspiration, discipline of divine chastisement, &c.

The Rev. J. L. Porter, in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," says; "The name *Lebanon* signifies 'white,' and was given to the mountain either on account of the snow, which during a great part of the year covers its whole summit, or on account of the white colour of its limestone cliffs and peaks. It is the 'white mountain'—the *Mont Blanc* of Palestine; an appellation which seems to be given, in one form or another, to the highest mountains in all the countries of the old world."

Bishop Wordsworth thinks that the coming from Lebanon denotes the gathering of the Church from the Gentile world. These are his words; "Lebanon is the great mountain-range on the north of Palestine; to the west of it lay the great heathen cities of Tyre and Sidon; to the east was Damascus. Lebanon, therefore, is the type of the Gentile world; and the coming of the Church from Lebanon, and the wafting of her perfume from Lebanon, and the flowing of her streams from Lebanon, are symbolical of the Christianization of Heathendom."

et non aliunde accepit. Faciet inquit dominus novum super terram. et mulier circumdabit virum. Vere novum. et omnium novitatum supereminens novitas virtutum. quando deus quem ferre non potest mundus. neque videre aliquis ut vivere possit. sic ingressus est hospicium matris. ut corporis claustra nescirent? sicque gestatus ut totus deus
f. 235 b. col. 2. in eo[p] (*sic*) esset.* et sic inde exivit porta omnino clausa (*sic*). Unde canitur in eisdem canticis de ea. Ortus conclusus. fons signatus. emissiones tue paradisus. Vere ortus deliciarum in quo consita sunt universa florum genera. et odoramenta virtutum. Sicque conclusus ut nesciat violari. neque corrumpi ullis insidiarum fraudebus (*sic*). Fons itaque signatus sigillo tocius trinitatis. ex qua fons vite manat. in cujus lumine omnes videmus lumen. quia juxta iohannem ipse est qui illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum; Cuius profectio emissio uteri. supernorum civium omnium est paradisus. Hodie dilectissimi fratres beatissima virgo maria assumpta est supra cœlos et præsentibus sanctis apostolis

[p] The MS. is exactly as here represented. It is clear that the word should be *in ea;* but the copyist wrote *eo*, and noticing the error when he revised what he had written, put a dot under the *o*, to shew that there had been a mistake.

[q] "compass." See a full note of Bishop Wordsworth on this interesting passage. The word "compass," he tells us,—*sâbab*—is used of the floods encompassing Jonah, of the setting which encompasses a jewel, of a river which girdles a land, and of the love of God which compasses His servants. And he adds, from Bp. Pearson on the Creed; "R. Judah has observed but one interpretation of this verb; and Kimchi testifieth that all words which come from the root *sâbab* signify *encompassing* or *circuition*. Therefore these words of Jeremiah must literally import no less than that *a woman shall encompass*, or *enclose a man*, which, with the addition of a *new creation*, may well bear the interpretation of a miraculous conception."

as holy Jeremy witnesseth, and did not receive one from another source. *The Lord*, he saith, shall do *a new thing upon the earth:* and *a woman shall compass a man.* A new thing truly, and a new thing which surpasseth in power all other new things, when God, Whose coming the world cannot abide, neither can any one see Him and live, so entered the guest-chamber of a mother's womb, that the gates of her body knew not of His entrance, and was so borne in her, that the whole Godhead was in her, and so came forth, that the gate was altogether shut [after him][r]. Whence of her it is sung in the same Canticles: *A garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up. Thy plants are a paradise.* Truly a garden of delights, in which are planted all manner of flowers and sweet-smelling virtues. Yea, and so shut up that it cannot be profaned, nor corrupted by any deceit of cunning craftiness. And so the fountain was sealed with the seal of the whole Trinity, from Whom floweth the fountain of Life, in Whose light we all of us see light, because, according to St. John, it is He Who *enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world.* Whose coming forth, even His issuing from her womb, is the paradise of all the citizens of heaven. To-day, dearly beloved brethren, the most blessed Virgin Mary was taken up above the heavens, and in the presence of the holy Apostles her body was placed in the sepulchre.

Jer. xxxi. 22.

See Ezek. xliv. 2.

Cant. iv. 12, 13.

See Ps. xxxv. 10 (Douay).

St. John i. 9.

[r] The reader is referred to Bp. Pearson on the Creed for the doctrine of the ἀειπαρθενία, or ever-virginity of Mary, of which, as he will see, that eminent divine makes great account (Pearson's "Exposition of the Creed," ed. Burton, Oxford, 1833, vol. i. pp. 303–309); "The peculiar eminency and unparalleled privilege of that mother, the special honour and reverence due unto that Son, and ever paid by her, the regard of that Holy Ghost who came upon her, and the power of the Highest which overshadowed her, the singular goodness and piety of Joseph, to whom she was espoused,—have persuaded the Church of God in all ages to believe that she still continued in the same virginity, and therefore is to be acknowledged the *ever Virgin Mary.* As if the gate of the sanctuary in the Prophet Ezekiel (xliv. 2) were to be understood of her: 'This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it: because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.'"

corpus virginis positum est in sepulcro. Obiit. sed tante majestatis corpus ut ait beatus gregorius mortis nexibus diu teneri non potuit; Impossibile enim erat eam carnem, diuturna morte posse corrumpi. ex qua verbum caro factum et habitavit in nobis. Si enim in resurrectione dominica multa corpora. sanctorum qui dormierant resurrexerunt. et in sanctam civitatem multi apparuerunt. quomodo caro resurgere non poterant (*sic*). quæ ipsum resurrectionis generavit auctorem? Plena fratres et secura fide tenete quod beatissima virgo maria. et anima et corpore immortalis facta. cum filio suo domino nostro ihesu christo ad dextris (*sic*) residet dei; Mater penitentium. et interventrix efficacissima pro peccatis nostris apud clementissimum filium suum; Exultate igitur et dignis præconiis præsentem solennitatem veneramini. purgate mentem. purgate carnem vestram vestris flagiciis. et qui filio virgini. et matri virgini deservitis? abstinete ab omnibus obscenitatibus carnis; Scindite corda. et occulta pubplicate vestra. quoniam penitentia et confessio vestram renovabit vetustatem. et conformabit dominice resurrectioni et gloriæ. Redimite tempus vitæ vestræ. quoniam dies mali sunt. et totus mundus in maligno positus est. Agite penitentiam. confitemini peccata vestra. quoniam non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris. Sevit mundus. impugnat sathanas.
f. 236. conantur multiplicari peccata vestra.* confugite

* We have searched the works of St. Gregory in vain for the passage to which Herbert refers. As to the sentiment, it is merely an ascription to the Blessed Virgin of that which exclusively belongs to her divine Son, of whom we are distinctly told that it was not possible that He should be holden of death, and that He saw no corruption (Acts ii. 24, 31; xiii. 37).

She died. But a body of such excellent dignity could not (as blessed Gregory saith[s]) long be held in the bonds of death. For it was impossible that that flesh should be corrupted by a long death, of which *the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.* For if at the Lord's Resurrection *many bodies of the saints that had slept, arose, and many [went] into the holy city, and appeared,* how could that flesh not rise again, which gave birth to the Author of life Himself? With a full and undoubting faith, believe ye, my brethren, that the most blessed Virgin Mary, made immortal both in body and soul, sitteth at the right hand of God, with her Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, [being] the mother of penitents, and a most effectual intercessor for our sins with her most gracious Son. Exult, therefore, and reverently observe this present solemnity with worthy publication of her praises. Purify your mind; purify your flesh of your wickednesses; and ye who serve a Virgin Son and a Virgin Mother, abstain from all filthiness of the flesh. Rend your hearts, and confess your secret [faults]; for penitence and confession will make new the old man[t] in you, and will conform you unto the resurrection and glory of your Lord. Redeem the time [past] of your life[u]; *because the days are evil,* and *the whole world is seated in wickedness.* Do penance; confess your sins; for *praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner.* The world rageth; Satan assaileth; your sins endeavour to

St. John i. 14. See St. Matt. xxvii. 52, 53. See Eph. v. 16. 1 St. John v. 19. Ecclus. xv. 9.

[t] *Vestram renovabit vetustatem.* The text which Herbert no doubt has in his mind is Rom. vii. 6;

Vulgate.	*Rheims.*
Nunc autem soluti sumus a lege mortis in qua detinebamur, ita ut serviamus in novitate spiritus, et non in vetustate litteræ.	But now we are loosed from the law of death, wherein we were detained: so that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.

We make new our oldness by serving God "in the newness of the spirit."

[u] Herbert has disturbed the meaning of the text, Ephesians v. 16, by the totally unauthorized insertion of the words "of your life." The Greek is ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν, the meaning of which is, that we should buy up present opportunities of doing good (i.e. profit by them), just as a wise speculator buys up some article in the market, of which he foresees that he can dispose with advantage hereafter.

ad mariam. vestrum et omnium penitentium clementissimam matrem. Fugite gulam. ebrietatem. fornicationem. avaritiam. perjurium. fraudem. et discordiam. et odium. quod est peccatum sathanæ? omnino exstirpate de cordibus vestris. Momentanea corporea voluptas. sed ignis qui sequitur in æternum manebit. Unde iob sanctus protestatur. Carnis dulcedo vermis. Fide. spe. dilectione? sancti floruerunt. et qui virginitate dealbatur[x]. Christum et mariam sequitur. et cantat canticum novum quod nemo cantare potest nisi virgo. Magnum coniugii bonum. sed continentia præcedit. et virginitas omnium virtutum excellentis-

[x] See above, p. 348, note m.

[y] Herbert has inserted the words, "of the flesh," to suit his argument, but it suits the argument of the context also. The passage in the Douay translation is, "May worms be his sweetness," "his" referring to the adulterer in verse 15, who is engaged in a work of the flesh (see Gal. v. 19). St. Gregory (*Mag. Mor.*, lib. xvi. in cap. xxiv. beati Job) finds the same signification in the worm. "We see, then, how great is the blindness of a voluptuous person and one given up to the pleasures of the flesh, when it is said the worm is his sweetness. For what is the flesh but corruption and the worm? and whosoever pants after fleshly lusts, what doth he else but love the worm? For our sepulchres testify what the substance of the flesh is. Which of our relations, which of our most faithful friends, could bear to touch the flesh of one, however dear to him, when swarming with worms? When, therefore, the flesh is pursued by concupiscence, let us well weigh what it is when deprived of life, and then we shall understand what it is that we are in love with."

[z] The reference is to Rev. xiv. 3, 4;

VULGATE.	RHEIMS.
3. Et cantabant quasi canticum novum ante sedem, et ante quatuor animalia et seniores; et nemo poterat dicere canticum, nisi illa centum quadraginta quatuor millia, qui emti sunt de terra.	3. And they sung as it were a new canticle, before the throne, and before the four living creatures, and the ancients: and no man could say the canticle but those hundred forty-four thousand, who were purchased from the earth.
4. Hi sunt, qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati; Virgines enim sunt. Hi sequuntur Agnum, quocunque ierit.	4. These are they who were not defiled with women: for they are virgins. These follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth.

multiply themselves. Fly ye, then, to Mary, the most gracious mother of you and all penitents. Flee ye gluttony, drunkenness, fornication, covetousness, perjury, deceit, strife, and hatred, which is a sin of the devil's; root ye these utterly out of your hearts. Bodily pleasure is but for a moment; but the fire which followeth thereon will endure for ever. Whence holy Job protesteth, *The sweetness*[y] *of the flesh is a worm.* In faith, hope, and love, the saints flourished; and he who is made white by virginity followeth Christ and Mary, and singeth a new canticle, which no one, save a virgin, is able to sing[z]. Great is the profit of wedlock, but chastity excelleth it[a], and virginity is the most ex-

See Job xxiv. 20.

See Rev. xiv. 3, 4.

It will be seen that Herbert, with the mediæval commentators in general, understands the virgins of verse 4 literally. So does Augustine, who founds an exhortation to virgins on this text, which Bede *in loc.* quotes with admiration. Modern Commentators more frequently regard the virginity as figurative. Thus Bp. Wordsworth; "In verse 4, the apostolic company of the 144,000 on Mount *Sion* who stand with the Lamb, are described as they which *were not defiled with women*, that is, they were not corrupted by the spiritual *harlotries* of *Babylon*, the false Church who is seated on the *Beast*, and who lures men with her fascinations, and bewitches them with her charms, and tempts them to drink of the cup of her strange doctrines, and who will be more fully described hereafter (xvii. 1—5). They have not defiled themselves with any spiritual fornications, such as that of the *woman Jezebel*, the false teacher, already described as deceiving God's servants, and tempting them to commit fornication, and to be false to their plighted troth and allegiance to Him.

"They were not sullied with any such defilements, for 'they are virgins.' Their souls had been espoused to Christ in spiritual wedlock, in Holy Baptism, by an apostolic ministry, as St. Paul says to the Corinthians (2 Cor. xi. 2); 'I espoused you as a chaste virgin to one husband, Christ.' '*A pure faith* is the *virginity* of the *soul*' (S. Aug. See on 2 Cor. xi. 2).

"They have endeavoured to preserve their virgin purity of soul in the true faith, 'whole and undefiled,' and to 'perfect holiness in the fear of God,' in spirit, soul, and body (2 Cor. vii. 1; 1 Thess. v. 23), and love the Lord in uncorruptness, ἀφθαρσία. See on Eph. vi. 24."

[a] This is the doctrine of Ambrose and other Fathers (Opp. ed. Bened., tom. ii. p. 966, Ep. 42, ad Syricium); "A good wife is justly praised, but a devout virgin is preferred above her; according to that saying of the Apostle's, '*He who giveth her in marriage doeth well, but he who giveth her not in marriage doeth better;* for the latter careth for the things of God, the former for the things of the world. The former is bound by the

sima est. FRATRES. veneramini castitatem. vestram reformate continentiam. Sancti inquit dominus estote. quia et ego sanctus sum; Vestram fratres conservate mundiciam. mundum famulatum mundus diligit dominus. salvator noster filius dei et filius virginis qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus. per omnia sæcula sæculorum AMEN.

tie of wedlock, the latter is free from all ties; the former is under the law, the latter under grace. Good is wedlock, which was the way found out to ensure posterity and the succession of the human race; but better is virginity, through which the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven is acquired, and a way found out by which we may succeed to the heavenly virtues of the saints. Through a married woman care entered into the

cellent of all virtues. Reverence chastity, my brethren, and be ye renewed in continence. *Be ye holy*, saith the Lord, *because I am holy*. Preserve your purity, brethren. The pure Lord our Saviour, the Son of God, and the Son of the Virgin, loveth a pure household, Who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth God for ever and ever. Amen.

Lev. xi. 44, 46, and xix. 2; and 1 Pet. i. 16.

world, through a virgin salvation made its entrance. Finally, Christ chose for Himself the special gift of virginity, and exhibited and represented in His own person that very virtue of chastity, which in His mother He had already chosen." And again, tom. ii. Liber De Viduis cap. xii. col. 205, where he says, "Integritas non imponitur sed præponitur,"—"Chastity is not imposed, but has preference given it."

XIII.

BEATORUM spirituum solennem fratres dilectisimi (*sic*) celebrantes diem. diligenter attendere debetis. unde sint gaudia. et que præsentia solennia protulerit ratio; Non enim ortus. aut passio. aut depositio[a]. vel translatio eorum celebratur. Humana quippe sunt ista. et nulla in

[a] *Depositio.* This word is used, Ducange tells us, for 1. the death of the faithful; 2. their burial (specially for the burial of St. John the Evangelist, who according to the legend went down alive into a grave which had been dug for him, and having made there a long prayer, and having blessed and bidden adieu to his disciples, laid himself while yet alive in his sepulchre (*deposuit se viventem in sepulchro suo*), and glorifying the Lord, commanded them to cover him in, and forthwith gave up the ghost; see Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus*, Hamburg, 1703, tom. ii. p. 589); 3. the anniversary of their death, their *obit.*

The writer of one of the Sermons commonly attributed to Ambrose, and contained in the Appendix to the Bened. edition of his Works, thinks that *depositio* is not a word to apply to the burial of a saint, but to his death. Thus he writes in a Sermon *de Depositione Sti. Eusebii*, Serm. lvii. tom. ii. App. col. 469; "We to-day celebrate the deposition of St. Eusebius. What is deposition? Not, I trow, that which is brought about by the hands of clerics in burying the remains of the body in the earth, but that process whereby a man, free from the bonds of the flesh, and set at liberty to go to heaven, puts off the earthly body. Evidently that is deposition, in which we cast away concupiscence, cease to transgress, leave off sinning, and, as if we threw away some burdensome load, lay down whatever hinders our salvation."

[b] *translatio eorum* — "the removal of their remains." It is singular that Ducange in his Glossary, while noticing under the word *translatio* the translation of bishops to higher sees, leaves untouched the translation of *saints*, i.e. the removal of their remains, by way of doing honour to their memory, to a more sumptuous shrine. Our English Calendar retains amongst its Black-Letter days five Translations of Saints.

June 20. Edward, king of the West Saxons, assassinated by order of his step-mother at Corfe Castle, translated by Elferius Duke of Mercia to Shaftesbury in A.D. 978. His day (that is, the day of his *death*) falls on March 18.

XIII.

*** *This Sermon has no heading in the MS. Neither the name of Herbert nor any subject is prefixed to it. In the latter feature, it is unique among the Sermons of the series. The former it has in common with all the other Sermons, with the exception of the three first and the last. From the internal evidence of the style, as well as from their occurring in the midst of a series* De Tempore, *of which the three first and the last are expressly ascribed to him, we make no doubt that all are Herbert's. And the most cursory glance at the Sermon before us shews that its subject is the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels.*

IN celebrating the solemn festival of the blessed spirits, dearly beloved brethren, ye ought to give diligent heed to the source from which the [Church's] exultation [of to-day] ariseth, and to the reasons which have brought forth the present solemnity. For it is not their birth, or their passion, or their death, or the removal of their remains[b] which we celebrate; for [all] these things are human, and no disquieting disturbance

July 4. St. Martin of Tours, translated from Cande to a basilica immediately adjacent to Tours in A.D. 473. His day falls on Nov. 11. He died A.D. 397.

July 15. St. Swithun, Bishop of Winchester. He died July 2, 862, and was buried at his own request outside the church, where feet might tread, and rain fall, on his grave. In 971, his relics were translated to a rich shrine within the cathedral, on which occasion a pouring rain fell, and continued thirty-nine days.

October 13. King Edward the Confessor. He refounded Westminster Abbey, where (on his death, Jan. 5, 1066) he was in the first instance interred before the high altar. Becket removed the body to a richer shrine, Oct. 13, 1163. It was a second time translated to a still more sumptuous shrine by Hen. III.; but the first translation is that which we commemorate.

October 17. St. Etheldreda, Princess of the East Angles, Abbess of Ely, died June 23, 679. Translated by her sister Sexburga, Oct. 17, 695, which is the translation commemorated. [See the account of a subsequent translation of Etheldreda in our bishop's days, by Richard Abbot of Ely, on which occasion Herbert preached in Ely Cathedral. It will be found in "The Life and Letters," under the date 1106, p. 211, *et sequent.*]

beatis spiritibus descendit hujusmodi perturbationis inquietudo. Initium sunt operum dei. et in eis primum sapientia creata est. Unde spiritus sanctus in lege. Dixitque deus. Fiat lux? et facta est lux. Et vidit deus lucem quod esset bona? et divisit lucem ac tenebras. Appellavitque lucem diem? et tenebras noctem; Et factum est vespere et mane dies unus; Hæc lux.

[c] The reader should here consult Augustine *de Civitate Dei*, lib. xi. cap. ix.; headed, *What, according to the testimonies of God's Word, we are to think of the condition of the angels.* (Ed. Bened. tom. vii. col. 278 *et seq.*) Though the creation of angels is not expressly mentioned, he says, it is not passed over; because God is said to have rested the seventh day from all His work, and to have created the heavens and the earth in the beginning. He argues hence, that the creation of angels must be comprised somewhere in the inspired record of Creation, since, when it is said that "God in the beginning created the heavens and the earth," this must mean that nothing was created previously, just as the phrase "he rested from all his work" must mean that nothing was created subsequently. He thinks therefore that the angels must be included either under "the heavens" ("God made the heavens"), or, which he prefers, under the light ("God said, Let there be light").

The expression "an angel of light," in 2 Cor. xi. 14, may lend some support to the belief that the angels were created with the light. And so, too, does the circumstance that a light frequently accompanied their appearance, "a light shined in the prison" (Acts xii. 7); "the glory of the Lord shone round about them" (St. Luke ii. 9); "his countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow" (St. Matt. xxviii. 3).

Good Bishop Andrewes evidently connected the angels with the work of the *second* day; for his Monday devotions begin, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who didst create the firmament of heaven, the heavens, and heaven of heavens, and the heavenly powers, angels, archangels, cherubim and seraphim." And at the end of the Monday devotions, he gives this list of the orders of the hierarchy, with their functions or provinces.

Angels	Care.
Archangels, 1 Thess. iv. 16 .	Illumination.
Virtues, 1 Pet. iii. *ult.* . .	Miracles.
Thrones	Judgment.
Dominations	Beneficence.
Principalities	Government.
Powers, Col. i. 16 . . .	Fighting against Devils.
Cherubim	Knowledge.
Seraphim	Love.

[d] Augustine (in the place just referred to) says, that angels must have

of this kind affects blessed spirits. They are the earliest of the works of God, and the first creatures whom He endowed with wisdom [c]. Whence the Holy Spirit saith in the Law; *And God said, Be light made. And light was made. And God saw the light that it was good; and he divided the light* and *the darkness. And he called the light Day, and the darkness Night; and there was evening and morning one day.* This light, this day [d], Gen. i. 3—5.

been made before the stars, on the authority of Job xxxviii. 7, which he quotes from the Septuagint translation of it;—

Septuagint.	*Augustine's Latin.*	
Ὅτε ἐγενήθησαν ἄστρα, ἤνεσάν με φωνῇ μεγάλῃ πάντες ἄγγελοί μου.	Quando facta sunt sidera, laudaverunt me voce magnâ omnes angeli mei.	When the stars were made, all my angels praised me with a loud voice.

After quoting this text, he proceeds thus; "There were already angels then, when the stars were made. But they were made on the fourth day. Shall we say then that [the angels] were made on the third day? Far from it. For what was made on that day is evident. The earth, to wit, was separated from the waters, and these two elements assumed distinct forms each after his own kind; and the earth brought forth whatsoever by the root inheres in it.—Was it then on the second day [that the angels were created]? No; not even so. For then was made the firmament between the waters above and those below, and it was called heaven; in which firmament the stars were made on the fourth day. If then the angels belong to the works of these days, it is clear that they themselves are that light which received the name of day, in order to commend to us the unity of which, it is not called the first day, but one day. Nor [strictly speaking] is the second or the third day, or any of the rest, another: but the very same one [day] was repeated to fill up the number of six or seven, on account of the sixfold or sevenfold discoveries [made to us], sixfold, to wit, of the works which God made, sevenfold of God's rest. For when God said, *Let there be light, and there was light*, if we are right in understanding the creation of the angels under this head, then certainly angels were made partakers of the eternal light, (which is the unchangeable wisdom of God itself, by which all things were made, even He whom we call the only-begotten Son of God,) so that being illumined by that light, whereby they were created, they might become light, and might be called day in virtue of their participation in the unchangeable light and day, which is the Word of God, by whom both they and all things were made. For *the true light which lighteneth every man that cometh into this world*, this also enlightened every pure angel, so that he is light, not in himself, but in God, from whom if an angel turns away, he becomes impure, as are all those who are called unclean spirits, who are no longer light in the Lord, but darkness in themselves, being deprived of their participation in the eternal light. For evil hath no nature; but the loss of good has received the name of evil." (Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, lib. xi. ch. ix.)

hæc dies. ee (*sic*) tenebre. hec vespera. ipsi sunt sancti angeli. qui quidem ad se relati tenebre. et vespera sunt ad comparationem illius cognitionis. quæ eternaliter consistit in verbo dei. qui tamen sunt unus dies. quoniam quod erat in verbo processit in existentiam rei. et rei existentis cognitio dilectione unita est æternæ cognitioni quæ permanet in verbo dei. De immundis* spiritibus nichil ad nos. excepto quod quomodo deus expulit illos de consortio suo. ita et nos exterminemus eos de cordibus nostris. Cæterum sancti et beati spiritus. spiritus et administratorii in ministerium missi. propter eos qui hereditatem accipiunt salutis? ipsi sunt amatores nostri. defensores nostri. illuminationes nostri custodes nostri atque in omnibus divine voluntatis inspiratores. et in bonis operibus adjutores nostri; Unde dominus in evangelio. Videte ne contempnatis unum ex his pusillis. Dico enim vobis. quia angeli eorum semper vident faciem patris mei qui in cœlis est. Et propheta. In conspectu angelorum inquit psallam tibi. adorabo ad tem-

f. 236, col. 2.

* This application of the term "darkness" to the angels, Augustine does not allow. He says (*Civ. Dei*, lib. xi. cap. xi.); "Which being so, the angels were never darkness at all, but as soon as ever they were made, they were made light; yet not only created so as to exist or live in any manner, but also illuminated [in their creation], so as to live wisely and happily. From which illumination certain of the angels turning away, obtained not the excellency of the wise and happy life (which doubtless cannot be otherwise than eternal, and assured and secure of its own eternity), but yet have a rational life, (albeit a foolish one) in such manner that they cannot lose it, not even should they wish to do so."

† We have seen the application which Augustine makes of the "one day,"—that the phrase is used to commend to us the oneness of the period of creation and rest. Herbert's application of it to the union of the angels with the Fountain of all wisdom by knowledge and love, seems to us at least equally good.

that darkness, this evening,—by these are meant the holy angels themselves, who, indeed, when considered in themselves, are *darkness*[e] and *evening* in comparison of that knowledge which subsisteth eternally in the Word of God; yet who are, however, *one day*[f], inasmuch as that which was in the Word came forth into an existing thing, and by love the knowledge, [wherewith] this existing thing [was endowed], was made one with that eternal knowledge which abideth in the Word of God. As regards unclean spirits, we need not concern ourselves with them, except that, as God drove them out from fellowship with Himself, so we also should banish them from our hearts. But the holy and blessed spirits, *ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who* receive *the inheritance of salvation*, they be our lovers, our defenders, our enlighteners, our guardians, and in all things the inspirers [into our minds] of the divine will, and our assistants in good works. Whence the Lord saith in the Gospel; *See that you despise not one of these little ones: for I say to you, that their Angels always see the face of my Father who is in heaven.* And [so] the prophet[g]: *I will sing praise to thee*, saith he, *in the sight of the Angels*[h]: *I will worship towards thy holy temple,*

Heb. i. 14.

St. Matt. xviii. 10.

Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 2 (Vulg.).

[g] "The Prophet," meaning the Psalmist. See pp. 202, 203, note b.

[h] Our Authorised translation of this verse (Ps. cxxxviii. 1) is, "Before the gods will I sing praise unto thee." The "gods" are variously interpreted. (1.) Some, following the LXX and Vulg., suppose the angels to be meant by the gods. This is Bishop Wordsworth's view; and the one to which we give the preference. (2.) Some think that by the "gods" are meant heathen powers, whom the Psalmist openly challenges to witness his adoration of Jehovah, (Dr. Kay). (3.) Others suppose the phrase to mean "before the ark," "in the sanctuary," "in the more immediate presence of God." (4.) Some again suppose "the gods" to be the idols of the heathen, in whose presence, and to the confusion of whose worshippers, the Psalmist will boldly confess Jehovah. This is the view of two great authorities, Hengstenberg and Dr. J. J. Perowne. (5.) The earlier Greek Fathers explain the reference to be to the choirs of Priests and Levites in the Temple.

"St. Chrysostom explains the LXX. ἐναντίον ἀγγέλων,—*opposite* the angels,—as though they formed one half of the choir, and men the other half, facing each other, and provoking one another to emulation in the

plum sanctum tuum et confitebor nomino (*sic*) tuo. Sancti angeli corporaliter quibusdam servierunt sanctis. quomodo abrahæ in prænuntiatione gignendi filii. quomodo loth in ereptione de inscendio sodome et gomorre. quomodo heliæ quem in curru igneo rapuerunt. et translatum in amenis et occultis mundi partibus escis immortalibus alunt. Servivit tobiæ angelus. et ob paternæ pietatis integritatem comitatus est eum usque in rages civitatem medorum. eumque liberatum ab angelo percuciente. cum uxore desponsata reduxit ad fidelem patrem. præbens medicinam. ex qua cæcati senis. oculis lux amissa redderetur. Servivit gabriel angelus mariæ virgini. et revera in omnibus ecclesiasticis sacramentis[i] comes affuit. usque ad ascensionem salvatoris ubi quodam alio ascito angelo. admirantium stuporem apostolorum consolatus est. Viri inquiunt angeli. quid admiramini aspicientes in celum. hic ihesus qui assumptus est a vobis in cœlum sic veniet quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in cœlum; Servierunt angeli domino. et post xl. dierum absti-

good work of praise and devotion. This notion of the presence of the angels as a check upon careless or irreverent behaviour during worship, is that adduced by St. Paul, saying, that a woman ought 'to have a covering on her head because of the angels;' while Tertullian and St. Bernard alike cite the same truth as a reason against any unseemly demeanour in church.—'Before the angels' too, for another reason, because the joy which makes the Psalmist sing is divine. Earthly happiness would cause him to sing before men, spiritual gladness makes him sing before the angels; for the ungodly know nothing of the joys of the righteous." [Neale and Littledale's Commentary on the Psalms, vol. iv. pp. 305, 306, London, 1874.]

[i] See footnote on p. 23, III. (1).

[k] See page 65, note a, and page 100, note g. St. Augustine seems to have held [Op. Imperfect. contr. Julian. lib. vi. tom x. col. 1376, ed.

and I will give glory to thy name. The holy angels have in bodily shape done service to certain of the saints; as, for example, to Abraham in fore-announcing the son whom he should beget; to Lot in snatching him from the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah; to Elias whom they caught upward in a chariot of fire, and whom ever since his translation[k] they nourish with immortal viands in pleasant and hidden regions of the world. It was an angel who did service to Tobias, and on account of the soundness of his father's piety accompanied him even to Rages a city of the Medes, and having set him free from the angel that smote [Sara's former husbands] brought him back with his affianced wife to his faithful father, and furnished medicine by which the lost light was restored to the eyes of the blind old man. The angel Gabriel did service to Mary the Virgin; and indeed in all the Church's mysteries gave attendance as a companion even to the ascension of the Saviour, on which occasion, having taken to himself a certain other angel as his companion, he administered consolation to the amazed and wondering apostles: *Ye men,* say the angels, *why* wonder you *looking up to heaven? This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come as you have seen him going into heaven.* The angels did service unto the Lord, and, after His fast of forty days, pre-

See Gen. xviii. 10.
See Gen. xix. 15—17.
See 4 Kings ii. 11 (Douay), with Ps. lxvii. 18 (Douay), and xvii. 11 (Douay).
See Tobias v. 20, 21.
See Tobias vi. 14 to end, and viii. 1—20 (Douay).
See Tobias xi. 2—17.
See St. Luke i. 26—39.
Acts i. 11.

Bened.] that Enoch and Elijah are in the earthly Paradise, from which Adam and Eve were expelled, and nourished, as they would have been had they continued in obedience, by the material tree of life.

Gregory, a great authority with Herbert, especially in this Sermon, holds the chariot of fire to indicate angelic agency. See lib. ii. Hom. xxix., where he draws a distinction between our Lord's ascension and Elijah's assumption [tom. i. col. 1572, ed. Bened.]; "It is to be observed that Elias is said to have ascended in a chariot, in order that it might be openly shown that even a holy man needed extrinsic aid. Those assistances were doubtless lent and exhibited by angels; because not even into the lower firmament could he have ascended by himself, since the infirmity of his nature weighed him down. But we do not read that our Redeemer was lifted up in a chariot, or by the ministry of angels; because He who had created all things was by His own power of a certainty borne above all."

nentiam celestes ei præparaverunt cibos. Unde dicitur in evangelio; Et ecce angeli accesserunt. et ministrabant ei. Certe fratres pene in omnibus sacris scripturis invenietis sanctos angelos ministrasse sanctis. et præsentes adesse. et omnium fidelium procurare salutem; Michael ipse cujus hodie celebramus solennitatem? noster est præ-
f. 236 b. liator. princeps miliciæ et signifer Christianorum conflictuum. Hostem exterminans. et latentem draconem de cordibus fidelium extrahens. cœleste defendit regnum hostilis eruptionis. de populatione et infestatione. Unde in apocalipsi legitur. Factum est prælium magnum in cœlo. michael et angeli eius præliabantur cum dracone. et draco pugnabat et angeli ejus. et non prævaluerunt neque locus inventus est eorum amplius in cœlo. Hanc pugnam dilectissimi fratres non credatis alicubi corporaliter factam. sed continuo mentibus fidelium spiritualiter exerceri. dum filius dei verus

[1] "As Gabriel represents the ministration of angels towards man, so Michael is the type and leader of their strife, in God's name and His strength, against the power of Satan," (Dr. Barry, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Art. MICHAEL.) See also a Prose of Adam de S. Victor for the Festival of St. Michael. (Œuvres Poetiques, Paris, 1859, tom. ii. p. 228.)

Michaëlem cuncti laudent	Let all praise Michael,
Nec ab hujus se defraudent	And let them not defraud themselves
Diei lætitiâ.	Of this day's joy.
Felix dies qua sanctorum	Happy is the day on which
Recensetur angelorum	Is reviewed the solemn victory
Solemnis victoria!	Of the holy angels.
Draco vetus exturbatur,	The old serpent is thrust out,
Et draconis effugatur	And the serpent's hostile legion
Inimica legio;	Put to flight.
Exturbatus est turbator	Yea, the disturber is himself disturbed,
Et projectus accusator	And the accuser cast down
A cœli fastigio.	From the height of heaven.

pared for Him heavenly viands. Whence it is said in the Gospel; *And behold Angels came and ministered to him.* Of a surety, brethren, ye will find in almost all the holy Scriptures that holy angels have ministered to the saints, and are present and assisting to them, and procure the salvation of all the faithful. Michael himself, whose festival we celebrate to-day, is our champion, the captain of the Lord's host and standard-bearer in all conflicts of Christians, who chaseth away the enemy, and drags forth the dragon who lurks in the hearts of the faithful, and defendeth the heavenly kingdom from the wasting and harassing of hostile outbreaks[1]. Whence we read in the Apocalypse: *There was a great battle in heaven, Michael and his angels fought with the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels: And they prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven.* Think not, dearly beloved brethren, that this fight was fought anywhere in the body; but [regard it] as continually being waged spiritually in the minds of the faithful, while the Son

St. Matt. iv. 11.

Rev. xii. 7, 8.

And so in a Hymn from the Roman Breviary for the festival, given in Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus* (Lipsiæ, 1855), tom. i. p. 220.

Collaudamus venerantes omnes cœli milites,
Sed præcipue primatem cœlestis exercitûs,
Michaëlem in virtute conterentem Zabulon *.

Quo custode procul pelle, rex Christe piissime,
Omne nefas inimici; mundo corde et corpore,
Paradiso redde tuo nos solâ clementiâ.

And in the following hymn on the same page, Michael is designated (as Herbert here designates him) as the *signifer* (standard-bearer) of Christ's armies.

"Tibi," (sc. Christo) "mille densa millium
Ducum corona militat,
Sed explicat victor crucem
Michael salutis *signifer*."

In thy cause (O Christ) a dense throng of chieftains, thousands upon thousands, are fighting, but it is Michael, the standard-bearer of salvation, who as an omen of victory unfurls the banner of the cross.

It is somewhat remarkable that, in the two preceding hymns for this festival which Daniel gives (pp. 218, 219), Michael should be spoken of as the angel of peace, and Gabriel as the strong angel, whose part is to drive away the old enemy.

* Zabulus vel ζάβολος nihil aliud nisi diabolus.

deus. suggestionum et passionum ignita jacula sathanæ retundit. elidit. frangit. suosque commilitores (*sic*) in spirituali agone erudit. confirmat. et protegit. Verumtamen nostrorum verborum furfure sullato. similaginem beati gregorii desiderabilem vestris auribus proponamus. et de eloquentia tanti viri. vestræ aviditatis esuriem sa-

[m] This is the suitable place to say something on the very remarkable Homily of St. Gregory, which Herbert cites at such length, and with an introduction so flattering to St. Gregory's sermons, so modest as regards his own. (It will be found in tom. i. col. 1600—1611 of the Benedictine Edition, and is the thirty-fourth Homily of the Second Book.) The text is the Gospel for the Third Sunday after Trinity, which was then, as it still is in the English Church, St. Luke xv. 1—11, the Parables of the Lost Sheep, and the Lost Piece of Money. The preacher gets to the subject of the angels in expounding the second parable. Nine of the pieces of silver represent the nine orders of unfallen angels, the tenth represents the human race, which by the fall was lost to God. The Divine Wisdom, or God Himself, is the woman who lit a candle and swept the house. The candle (or light in an earthen vessel), is the light which God shed around Him by His words and works, when He appeared in our brittle and infirm flesh; the sweeping of the house is the disturbance and purification which took place in man's conscience, when from the earthen vessel the light shone forth upon it. Having in this manner broken ground upon the angels, he pursues that subject till he comes to the practical conclusion of his sermon. This of course (as one would be led by the text to suppose), is an exhortation to repentance. He sets forth its nature, and the tests of its sincerity (one of these tests being the abstinence even from lawful pleasures, as David refused to drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem, pouring it out as a drink-offering unto the Lord), and the patience with which God waits to see its earliest evidences; and then, in strict connexion with the main argument of his sermon, closes with the anecdote about the penitence of the monk Victorinus, which God showed His acceptance of by a light and a voice from heaven. It will be seen that, *as Herbert introduces it*, this story has no connexion with *his* argument, which does not at all concern penitence. It is simply an anecdote, holding of nothing in particular, introduced for the diversion and edification of his hearers, which indeed seems to be the character of *his* other anecdotes.

In the middle of Section 12 (ed. Bened. col. 1607, D), just where Herbert leaves off his citation, and passes on to the story, Gregory refers to the work on the celestial hierarchy by Dionysius Areopagita, which was the great source of all mediæval speculations on Angelology. Dionysius had said that the higher orders of angels never go on ministries to man, but are engaged in ceaseless contemplation,—a fact which Gregory

of God, the true God, deadens, dashes to pieces, and breaks the fiery darts of Satan's suggestions and motions, and instructs, confirms, and shields his own comrades in the spiritual conflict. But now, removing from before you the bran of our own words, let us set forth in your hearing the desirable wheat-flour of the blessed Gregory, and satisfy the craving of your [spiritual] hunger with the eloquence of so great a man[m]. He

finds some difficulty in reconciling with the mission of a seraph to Isaiah. But the curious and observable fact is, that in mentioning the orders of the hierarchy, Gregory deviates from Dionysius in changing the places of virtues and principalities. The second triad of Angels consists, according to Dionysius, of 1. Dominations, 2. *Virtues*, 3. Powers; according to Gregory, of 1. Dominations, 2. *Principalities*, 3. Powers. The third or lowest triad consists, according to Dionysius, of 1. *Principalities*, 2. Archangels, 3. Angels; according to Gregory, of 1. *Virtues*, 2. Archangels, 3. Angels. In the twenty-eighth Canto of his *Paradiso*, Dante notices this discrepancy, and tells us that Gregory smiled at his own error, when he himself reached heaven and saw the truth, which the Areopagite had long before learned from St. Paul, the man who was caught up into the third heaven. We give the passage in Cary's translation;—

"Musing awhile I stood: and she, who saw
My inward meditations, thus began:
In the first circles, they, whom thou beheld'st,
Are seraphim and cherubim. Thus swift
Follow their troops, in likeness to the point,
Near as they can, approaching; and they can
The more, the loftier their vision. Those
That round them fleet, gazing the Godhead next,
Are thrones; in whom the first trine ends. And all
Are blessed, even as their sight descends
Deeper into the truth, wherein rest is
For every mind. Thus happiness hath root
In seeing, not in loving, which of sight
Is aftergrowth. And of the seeing such
The meed, as unto each, in due degree,
Grace and good-will their measure have assigned.
The other trine, that with still opening buds
In this eternal springtide blossom fair,
Fearless of bruising from the nightly rain *,
Breathe up in warbled melodies threefold
Hosannas, blending ever, from the three
Transmitted, hierarchy of gods, for aye
Rejoicing; dominations first; next them,
Virtues; and powers the third; the next to whom

* *Fearless of bruising from the nightly rain.* Not injured, like the productions of our spring, by the influence of autumn, when the constellation Aries rises at sunset.

ciemus. Angelorum inquit et hominum naturam ad cognoscendum se dominus condidit. quam dum consistere ad æternitatem voluit. eam procul dubio ad suam similitudinem creavit. Decem vero dragmas habuit mulier. quia novem sunt ordines angelorum. Sed ut compleretur electorum numerus. homo decimus est creatus. Qui a conditore suo nec post culpam periit. quia hunc æterna sapientia per carnem miraculis choruschans ex lumine teste reparavit. Novem vero ordines angelorum [n] esse diximus. quoniam [o] videlicet esse testante sacro eloquio scimus. angelos. archangelos. virtutes. potestates. principatus. dominationes. thronos. cherubin. atque seraphin. Unde

> Are princedoms and archangels, with glad round
> To tread their festal ring; and last, the band
> Angelical, disporting in their sphere.
> All, as they circle in their orders, look
> Aloft; and, downward, with such sway prevail,
> That all with mutual impulse tend to God.
> These once a mortal view beheld. Desire
> In Dionysius so intensely wrought,
> That he, as I have done, ranged them; and named
> Their orders, marshal'd in his thought. From him,
> Dissentient, one refused his sacred read.
> But soon as in this heaven his doubting eyes
> Were open'd, Gregory at his error smiled.
> Nor marvel, that a denizen of earth
> Should scan such secret truth; for he had learnt
> Both this and much beside of these our orbs,
> From an eye-witness to heaven's mysteries."

Gregory's homily is extremely interesting in another view, as containing the earliest notice in the Western Church of the Works of Dionysius. "The first unequivocal mention of them in the Eastern Church is to be found in the records of the conference held at Constantinople in A.D. 532." (See much more in Mr. Lupton's most interesting article, DIONYSIUS, in Smith and Wace's Dict. of Christian Biography.)—

Here is an interesting passage from Bishop Bull (Works, vol. i. Serm. vii. pp. 181, 182, Oxford, 1827), in which, preaching on "the different degrees of bliss in heaven," he argues from the distinction of orders and ranks among the angels, and refers to Dionysius;—

says: "The Lord created the nature of angels and of "men for the knowledge of Himself. And as He was "minded that this nature should endure to all eternity, "He created it without a doubt in His own image. The "woman [in my text] had ten pieces of silver, because "there be nine orders of angels. But in order that the "number of the elect might be accomplished, man was "created as the tenth. And he after his fall was not "destroyed by his Creator, because the eternal Wisdom, "by [taking] flesh,—a flesh from which He gleamed "forth in miracles, as a light struggles forth from the "mouth of an earthen pitcher,—repaired his ruin. We "have said that there are nine orders of angels, because "forsooth by the testimony of holy Scripture we know "that there be angels, archangels, virtues, powers, prin-"cipalities, dominations, thrones, cherubin and sera-

"There are degrees of honour and glory among the angels in heaven, and though they are all of them glorious creatures, yet among them some are higher, some inferior in dignity, some are greater, others lesser; therefore we have reason to conclude, that there will be an order and gradation among the blessed saints of heaven likewise. For we are sure that in the future state we shall be like unto the angels; and why not in this Seeing in the angelical polity there are divers orders, ranks, and degrees, can we imagine that the communion of the saints in heaven shall be a levelled society? This is utterly incredible. Now the antecedent here again is most evident from Scripture; and though we dare not intrude ourselves into the things we have not seen, or imitate the temerity of that learned and sublime conjecturer Dionysius, who undertakes to reckon up exactly the several orders of the angelical hierarchy, as if he had seen a muster of the heavenly host before his eyes; yet that there are orders and degrees among the blessed angels, we may with all assurance affirm, having the plainest warrant of the holy text for the assertion. For we often read in Scripture, not only of angels, but also of archangels, i.e. chief angels, that have a preëminence above the rest. This is so known and confessed by every man, that we need not cite the texts wherein mention is made of them."

It only remains to say, that we have carefully collated Herbert's transcript of Gregory with the Benedictine edition of that Father, and have noted the variations at the bottom of the page, the reading of the Benedictine edition being indicated by the letters E.B.—All the variations, with the exception of one, in which the writer of the MS. has gone much astray, are very insignificant.

[n] Angelorum ordines. E. B. [o] quia. E. B.

et ipsi angelo qui primus est conditus. per prophetam dicitur. Tu signaculum similitudinis? plenus sapientia? et perfectus decore in deliciis paradisi dei fuisti. Qui[p] notandum quod non ad simitudinem[q] (*sic*) dei factus? sed signaculum similitudinis dicitur. ut quia[r] in eo sullimior est natura. eo in illum[s] imago dei similius insinuetur expressa. Quo in loco mox subditur. Omnis lapis preciosus operimentum tuum; Sardius. to-
f. 236 b. col. 2. pazius. iaspis[t]. crisolitus. onix. et* berillus. saphirus. carbunculus. et smaragdus. Ecce novem dixit nomina lapidum. quia profecto novem sunt ordines angelorum. Quibus nimirum ordinibus ille primus angelus ideo ornatus et opertus exstitit. quia dum cunctis agminibus angelorum prælatus est ex eorum comparatione clarior fuit; Sed cur istos persistentium angelorum choros enumerando perstrinximus. si non eorum quoque ministeria subtiliter exprimamus? Greca etenim lingua. angeli nuncii. archangeli vero summi nuntii vocantur. Sciendum vero[u] quod angelorum vocabulum nomen est officii. non nature; Nam sancti illi cœlestis patrie spiritus. semper quidem sunt spiritus. set semper vocari angeli nequaquam possunt. quia tunc solum sunt angeli. cum per eos aliqua nunciantur. Unde et per psalmistam dicitur. Qui facit angelos suos spiritus; Ac si patenter dicat. Qui eos quos semper habet spiritus? etiam cum voluerit angelos facit. Hi autem qui minima nuntiant? angeli. quæ[x] vero summa adnuntiant?

[p] Ubi. E. B. [q] similitudinem. E. B. [r] quo. E. B.
[s] in illo. E. B. [t] et jaspis. E. B.

" phin. Whence also to the angel himself who was first
" created it is said by the prophet; *Thou wast the seal* Ezek.
" *of resemblance, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty.* xxviii. 12, 13.
" *Thou wast in the pleasures of the paradise of God.*
" Where we must observe that he is not said to have
" been made after the resemblance of God, but to be
" the seal of His resemblance; which implies that, in
" proportion to the greater loftiness of his nature, the
" image of God is more exactly expressed in him. In
" which place it is immediately subjoined; *Every pre-* Ezek.
" *cious stone was thy covering: the sardius, the topaz,* xxviii. 13.
" *the jasper, the chrysolite, the onyx, and the beryl, the*
" *sapphire, the carbuncle, and the emerald.* Behold he
" hath named the names of nine stones, because for-
" sooth there be nine orders of angels. With which
" orders, doubtless, that first angel is said to have been
" adorned and covered at his creation, because, while
" he was preferred above all the armies of the angels,
" he was all the brighter by comparison with them.
" But why have we run over [and enumerated] those
" choirs of angels who stood fast [in their obedience to
" God's will], if we do not also express with accuracy
" their [respective] ministries? For in the Greek tongue
" the word angels means messengers, and archangels
" the highest messengers. Ye must know, however,
" that the name angels is a name [indicative of] their
" office, not their nature. For those holy spirits, [the
" natives] of the heavenly country, are always spirits
" indeed; but in no wise can they always be called an-
" gels, because then only are they angels, when through
" their instrumentality some message is brought. Whence
" it is said by the Psalmist; *He that maketh his angels* Heb. i. 7,
" *spirits.* As if he had openly said; He who, when it quoted from Ps.
" pleaseth Him, maketh those to be angels, whom He civ. 4
" hath always as spirits.—But they who bring tidings of (Douay).
" small importance are angels; they who bring tidings
" of the highest importance are called archangels. For

[u] Sciendum quoque. E. B. [z] qui. E. B.

archangeli vocantur. Hinc[y] enim ad mariam virginem non quilibet angelus. sed gabriel archangelus mittitur. Ad hoc quippe ministerium summum angelum venire dignum fuerat. qui summum omnium nuntiabat. Qui iccirco etiam privatis nominibus censentur? ut signetur per vocabula. etiam in operatione quid valeant. Neque enim in illa sancta civitate quam de visione omnipotentis dei plena scientia. perficit iccirco propria nomina sortiuntur. ne eorum persone sine nominibus sciri non possint. sed cum ad eos[z] aliquid ministraturi adveniunt. aput nos et[a] nomina a ministeriis trahunt. Michael namque quis ut deus? gabriel autem fortitudo dei. raphael vero dicitur medicina dei. Et quotiens mire virtutis aliquid agitur? michael mitti perhibetur. ut ex ipso actu et nomine detur intelligi. quod[b] nullus potest facere quod facere prævalet deus. Unde et ille antiquus hostis qui esse deo per superbiam similis concupivit dicens. in celum conscendam. et[c] super
f. 237. astra cœli exaltabo* solium meum. sedebo in montem[d] testamenti. in lateribus aquilonis? ascendam super altitudinem nubium. similis ero altissimo. Dum in fine mundi in sua virtute relinquitur[e] extremo supplicio perimendus? cum michale archangelo præliaturus esse perhibetur. sicut per iohannem dicitur. Factum est silentium in cœlo[f]? dum committeret prælium draco cum michaele archangelo. ut qui se ad dei similitudinem superbus

[y] hinc est enim, quod. E. B. [z] ad nos. E. B. [a] etiam. E. B. [b] quia. E. B. [c] E. B. *omits* et. [d] monte. E. B. [e] relinquetur. E. B.

[f] *Factum est prælium cum Michaele Archangelo: ut qui se ad Dei simili-*

" hence it was that to Mary the Virgin not any angel,
" but Gabriel the archangel, was sent. For upon this
" ministry it was meet that the highest angel should
" come, who brought the highest of all tidings. And
" on this account the angels have private names under
" which they go, that it may be known by [these] ap-
" pellatives what is [the nature and] power of their
" [respective] operations. For in that holy fellowship,
" which a perfect knowledge of the Almighty God, re-
" sulting from the vision of Him, brings about, they
" therefore have proper names assigned to them, lest
" without names their persons should not be known.
" But when they come to us to do any act of service,
" with us too they derive their names from the minis-
" tries they perform. For Michael signifies, Who is like
" God?; Gabriel, the strength of God; whereas the
" meaning of Raphael's name is the medicine of God.
" And as often as anything of wondrous efficacy is
" done, Michael is said to be sent; so that from his
" very act and name it is given us to understand that
" no man can do what God hath power to do. Whence
" also that old enemy—who through pride desired to
" be like unto God, saying, *I will ascend into heaven,* Isaiah xiv.
" *I will exalt my throne above the stars of* heaven: *I will* 13, 14.
" *sit* in the mountain *of the* covenant, *in the sides of the*
" *north. I will ascend above the height of the clouds,*
" *I will be like the most High,*—while at the end of
" the world he is left in his own [vaunted] power to
" be destroyed by the last punishment, is said to be See Rev.
" about to fight with Michael the Archangel; as is said xii. 7.
" by John; *There was silence in heaven* while *the dragon* Rev. viii. 1.
" joined battle with Michael the Archangel, so that he,
" who had proudly lifted up himself unto a comparison
" with God, might learn, from being destroyed by Mi-

tudinem, &c. E. B. Herbert himself, or his copyist, must have been here very inaccurate in the transcription of Gregory, creating a most awkward fusion of two texts in the Apocalypse, which are not only unconnected, but describe phenomena which could not have been contemporaneous. For the war in heaven would have broken the silence in heaven.

extulerat? per michaelem peremptus discat. quia ad dei similitudinem per superbiam nullus exurgat; Ad mariam quoque gabriel mittitur qui dei fortitudo nominatur. Illum quippe nuntiare veniebat. qui ad debellandas aerias potestates. humilis apparere dignatus est. de quo per psalmistam dicitur. Tollite portas principes vestras. et elevamini porte eternales et introibit rex gloriæ. Quis est iste rex gloriæ? Dominus fortis et potens. dominus potens in prælio. Et rursus[g]; Dominus virtutum. ipse est rex gloriæ. Per dei ergo fortitudinem nuntiandus erat qui virtutum dominus et potens in prælio. ad debellandas[h] potestates aerias veniebat. Raphael. quoque interpretatur ut diximus medicina dei? quia videlicet dum tobie oculos quasi per officium curationis tetigit? cecitatis eius tenebras tersit. Qui ergo ad curandum mittitur? dignum (*sic*) videlicet fuit. ut dei medicina vocaretur; Sed quia angelorum nomina interpretando perstrinximus? nunc superest ut ipsa officiorum vocabula breviter exequamur. Virtutes etenim vocantur illi nimirum spiritus? per quos signa et miracula frequentius fiunt. Potestates etiam vocantur hi? qui hoc potentius cæteris in suo ordine acceperunt? ut eorum ditione[i] virtutes adverse subiecte sunt[k]? quorum potestate refrenantur? ne corda hominum tantum temptare prævaleant. quantum volunt; Principatus etiam vocantur? qui ipsis quoque bonis angelorum spiritibus præsunt? qui subjectos[l] (*sic*) aliis dum quæque sunt agenda dis-

f. 237, col. 2.

[g] rursum. E. B.

[h] contra potestates aëreas. E. B. Dr. Neale gives, from an elegy of

"chael, that through pride no one riseth to be like
"unto God, Moreover, unto Mary Gabriel is sent, who See St. Luke i. 26, 27.
"is named the strength of God, since he came to bring
"tidings of Him, who condescended to appear in a
"humble form that he might subdue the powers of
"the air; of Whom it is said by the Psalmist; *Lift* Ps. xxiii. 7, 8 (Douay).
"*up your heads, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, O eter-*
"*nal gates: and the King of glory shall enter in. Who*
"*is this King of glory? The Lord who is strong and*
"*mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.* And again; *The* Ps. xxiii. 10 (Vulg.)
"*Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory.* By the strength
"of God therefore, tidings were to be brought of Him
"who, being the Lord of hosts and mighty in battle,
"came to subdue the powers of the air.—Moreover,
"Raphael, as we have said, is by interpretation the
"medicine of God, because forsooth, while he touched See Tobias xi. 7—17.
"the eyes of Tobias as though he were doing the phy-
"sician's office, he wiped away the darkness of those
"blind eyes. He therefore, who is sent to heal, was
"certainly worthy of being called the medicine of God.

"And now, as we have run through the names of the
"angels, and given interpretations thereof, it remaineth
"that we should briefly expound the words which sig-
"nify their offices. Those spirits then be called *virtues*,
"by whom signs and miracles are frequently wrought.
"They also are called *powers*, who have obtained, more
"effectually than others of their own order, the subjec-
"tion to their authority of opposite influences, and by
"whose sway those opposite influences are reined in,
"lest they should prevail to entice the hearts of men as
"much as they desire. They moreover are called *prin-*
"*cipalities*, who are set over even the good spirits
"amongst God's angels, who both appoint to those

Lævinus Taurentius on the Descent of Christ into Hell, the following couplet, which contains the word *debello* as applicable to Christ's triumph over the infernal powers;

"Debellanda illic sævi fera numina Ditis,
Magnaque de magnâ præda petenda domo."

i ditioni. E. B. k sint. E. B. l subjectis. E. B.

ponunt eis ad explenda divina misteria[m] (*sic*) principantur. Dominationes autem vocantur? qui etiam potestates principatuum dissimilitudine alta transcendunt; Nam principari est? inter quos[n] (*sic*) priorem existere. dominari vero est etiam subjectos[o] possidere. Ea ergo angelorum agmina? que mira potentia præminent.[p] pro eo quod eis cætera ad obediendum subiecta sunt. dominationes vocantur. Troni quoque illa agmina sunt vocata? quibus ad exercendum judicium semper deus omnipotens præsidet. Quia enim tronos (*sic*) latino eloquio sedes dicimus. throni dei dicti sunt hi? qui tanta divinitas[q] (*sic*) gratia replentur. ut in eis dominus sedeat. et per eos sua judicia decernat; Unde et per prophetam[r] dicitur. Sedes super thronum. qui judicas equitatem. Cherubin quoque plenitudo scientiæ dicitur. Et sullimiora[s] illa agmina. iccirco[t] cherubin vocata sunt? quia tanto perfectiori scientia plena sunt? quanto claritatem dei vicinius contemplantur. ut secundum creature modum eo plene omnia sciant? quo visione[u] conditoris sui per meritum dignitatis appropinquant. Seraphin etiam vocantur illa sanctorum spirituum[x] agmina. que ex singulari propinquitate conditoris[y] incomparabili ardent amore. Seraphin namque ardentes vel incendentes vacantur[z] (*sic*); Quæ quia ita deo conjucta[a] (*sic*) sunt? ut inter hæc et deum nulli

[m] ministeria. E. B. [n] reliquos. E. B. [o] E. B. *inserts* quosque *between* subjectos *and* possidere. [p] præeminent. E. B. [q] divinitatis. E. B. [r] Psalmistam. E. B. [s] sublimiora. E. B. [t] idcirco. E. B. [u] visioni. E. B. [x] spirituum sanctorum. E. B. [y] Conditoris sui. E. B. [z] vocantur. E. B. [a] conjuncta. E. B.

" under them the things that should be done, and issue
" to them orders for the execution of their ministries
" unto God. But those angels are called *dominations*,
" who surpass by a wide difference the power even of
" principalities. For to hold a principality, is only to
" take the first rank among others; but to have a do-
" mination is also to possess vassals, who are put under
" our feet. Those bands of angels, then, which excel in
" the marvellousness of their power, are called domina-
" tions, for that reason, that the others are put under
" their feet, and bound to pay obedience unto them.
" Moreover, those bands are called *thrones*, who are ap-
" pointed to sit in judgment, while Almighty God Him-
" self presides over them. For, because in the Latin
" tongue thrones are called seats, they are said to be
" the thrones of God, who are filled with so large a mea-
" sure of the grace which belongeth to God Himself,
" that the Lord sitteth in the midst of them, and through
" them decrees His judgments. Whence it is said also Ps. ix. 5
" by the Prophet; *Thou* sittest *on the throne, who judgest* (Douay).
" equity. By the word cherubim, too, is the fulness of
" knowledge indicated. And those loftier bands of angels
" are on that account called *cherubim*, because they be
" full of knowledge, which is so much the more perfect,
" inasmuch as they gaze upon the glory of God more
" nearly [than other orders]; so that they, in proportion
" as, by right of their dignity, they approach unto the
" vision of their Creator, know all things more fully,
" according to the measure of a creature. Moreover
" those bands of blessed spirits, are called *seraphim*, who
" from especial nearness to their Creator, burn with a
" love of Him to which no other love can be compared,
" for by the name seraphim is expressed the burning
" or the kindling ones. Who, because they are so
" closely joined together unto God, that no other spi-
" rits come between them and God, burn so much the
" more as they see Him so much the more nearly; and
" the flame wherewith they burn is love, because the
" more transparently they behold the glory of His

alii spiritus intersint ? tanto magis ardent. quanto hunc vicinius vident. Quorum profecto flamma amor est. quia quo subtilius claritatem divinitatis eius aspiciunt ? eo validius in eius amore flammascunt[b]. Sed quid prodest nos de angelicis spiritibus ista perstringere. si non studeamus hæc et ad nostros profectus congrua consideratione dirivare[c] ?* Quia enim superna civitas[d] illa ex angelis et hominibus constat ? ad quam tantum credimus humanum genus ascendere ? quantos illic contigit angelos[e] electos permansisse[f]. Sicut scriptum est. Statuit terminos gentium secundum numerum angelorum dei[g] ? debemus et nos aliquid ex illis distinctionibus supernorum civium ad usum nostre conversationis trahere ? nosque ipsos ad crementa (sic) virtutum bonis studiis inflammare; Quia enim tanta illic[i] ascensura creditur multitudo hominum ? quanta multitudo remansit angelorum ? superest ut ipsi quoque homines qui ad cœlestem patriam redeunt ? ex eis agminibus aliquid illuc revertentes imitentur. Distencte[k] (*sic*) namque conversationes hominum singulorum agminum (*sic*) ordinibus congruunt ? et in eorum sortem per conversationis similitudinem deputentur[l]; Nam sunt plerique qui parva capiunt ? sed tamen hec eadem parva pie adnuntiare fratribus non desistunt; Isti ita in angelorum numerum currunt. Et sunt nonnulli ? qui divine largitatis numeri[m] munere.

* *In the margin,* etiam.

f. 237 b.

The margin has in red ink,

[b] flammescunt. E. B. [c] derivare. E. B. [d] illa civitas. E. B. [e] electos Angelos. E. B. [f] remansisse. E. B.

[g] This is a Latin translation of the Septuagint version of Deut. xxxii. 8. The Vulgate has (like our own translation, Deut. xxxii. 8) no allusion to the angels;

" Godhead, so much the more fervently do they flame " with His love.

" But what advantageth it us to touch upon these " [points] concerning the angelic spirits, if we do not " study also to turn them to our own profit by a suitable " consideration of them? For seeing that the Jerusalem " which is above is made up of angels and men, unto " which we believe that as large a portion of the human " race ascendeth, as there happen to remain there elect " angels who have kept their dwelling-place, (even as " it is written, *He* set *the bounds of the* nations *accord-* Deut. " *ing to the number of* the angels of God), we also xxxii. 8. " ought from those distinctions between the citizens " of heaven to draw something into use in our life, and " to kindle ourselves with honest emulation unto an in- " crease of virtues. For because it is believed that as " large a multitude of men will ascend thither, as there " continued there a multitude of angels, it remaineth " that these very men also who are returning unto the " heavenly country should, while returning thither, imi- " tate something of the manners of those heavenly " hosts. For the different ways of life of different " men agree with the ranks of the heavenly hosts; " and their lot falleth with one or other of these ranks, " according to the similitude of their way of life. For " the greater part of men receive but a little know- " ledge; but yet this same little knowledge they do " not fail devoutly to rehearse unto their brethren. " These therefore pass into the number of *angels*. And " there be some who, strengthened with the gift of the " Divine bounty, are able both to receive and to re-

LXX.	*Vulg.*	*Douay.*	*Authorised.*
ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ.	Constituit terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Israel.	He appointed the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel.	He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel.

[h] incrementa. E. B. [i] illuc. E. B. [k] Distinctè. E. B.
[l] deputantur. E. B. [m] munere. E. B.

refecti? secretorum cœlestium summa et capere prævalent et nuntiare. Quo ergo isti nisi inter archangelorum numerum deputantur? Et sunt alii qui mira faciunt? signa valenter operantur; Quo igitur isti? nisi ad supernarum virtutum sortem et numerum congruunt? et sunt nonnulli qui etiam de opressis[n] (*sic*) corporibus malignos spiritus fugant? eosque virtute orationis et vi acceptæ potestates[o] (*sic*) eiciunt[p]. Quo itaque isti meritum suum nisi inter potestatum cœlestium numerum sortiuntur; Et sunt nonnulli qui et acceptis virtutibus etiam electorum hominum merita transcendunt. Cumque et bonis meliores sint? electis quoque et[q] fratribus principantur. Quo ergo isti sortem suam nisi inter principatuum numerum[r] acceperunt? Et sunt nonnulli qui sic in semet ipsis cunctis viciis omnibusque desideriis dominantur. ut ipso jure munditiæ. dii inter homines vocentur. Unde et* ad moysen dicitur. Ecce constitui te deum pharaonis. Quo ergo isti nisi inter numeros dominationum currunt? Et sunt nonnulli qui dum sibimet ipsis vigilanti cura dominantur? dum[s] se sollicita intentione discutiunt? divino timori semper inherentes. hoc in munere virtutis accipiunt? ut judicare recte et alios possint. Quorum profecto mentibus dum divina contemplatio præsto est. in his velut in throno suo dominus præsidens. aliorum facta examinat? et cuncta mirabiliter de sua sede dispensat; Quid ergo isti nisi throni sui conditoris sunt? Vel quo nisi ad supernarum sedium numerum[t] adscribuntur? Per quos dum sancta ec-

f. 237 b. col. 2.

" hearse the highest of the secret counsels of heaven. " Where then shall these find their place, but among " the number of *archangels?* And there be others who " do wonderful things, and work signs effectually. With " what do these agree, if it be not with the lot and num- " ber of the celestial *virtues?* And there be some who " even from possessed bodies put to flight wicked spi- " rits, and cast them out by the virtue of prayer, and by " force of the power which they have received. Where, " then, shall these obtain their suitable place, if it be " not among the number of the heavenly *powers?* And " there be some who, by the virtues they have received, " surpass in excellence even elect men, and since these " are better even than the good, they hold the first " rank even amongst their elect brethren. Where then " shall these receive their lot, if it be not among the " number of the *principalities?* And there are some " who within themselves exercise such dominion over " all vice and evil concupiscence, that by right of their " purity they are called gods among men. Whence " also it is said to Moses; *Behold I have appointed thee* Exod. vii. " *the God of Pharao.* Whither then do these hasten to [1] (Douay). " find their places, but among the number of the *domi-* " *nations?* And there are some who while they govern " themselves with watchful care, while they examine " themselves with anxious attention, cleaving ever unto " the fear of God, receive this as the meed of their " virtue, that they are able to judge others rightly also. " Since the minds of these are ever ready for the con- " templation of God, in them as in His throne the " Lord sitteth in judgment, and weigheth the deeds " of others, and dispenseth all things marvellously from " His own seat. What be they then save the thrones " of their Creator? or where shall they be written, save " among the number of the heavenly *thrones?* By " whom, while the holy Church is governed, even the " very elect are wont to be judged for certain weak and

[n] obsessis. E. B. [o] potestatis. E. B. [p] ejiciunt. E. B. [q] E. B. *omits* et. [r] numeros. E. B. [s] dumque. E. B. [t] numeros. E. B.

clesia regitur? plerumque de quibusdam suis infirmis actibus etiam electi judicantur; Et sunt nonnulli qui tanta dei ac proximi dilectione pleni sunt? ut cherubin iure nominentur. Quia enim ut præfati sumus cherubin plenitudo scientiæ dicitur? et paulo dicente didicimus. quia plenitudo legis est caritas; Omnes qui dei et proximi caritate cæteris amplius pleni sunt? meritorum suorum sortem inter cherubin numeros perceperunt; Et sunt nonnulli. qui supernæ contemplationis facibus accensi? in solo conditoris sui desiderio anhelant. Nichil iam ex hoc mundo cupiunt? solo eternitatis amore pascuntur; Terrena queque abiciunt? cuncta temporalia mente transcendunt. amant et ardent. atque in ipso suo ardore requiescunt; Amando ardent. loquendo. et alios ascendunt[x] (*sic*); Et quos verbo tangunt? ardere protinus in dei amore faciunt; Quid ergo ipsos[y] nisi seraphin dixerim? Quorum cor in igne conversum lucet et urit. quia et mentium oculos ad superna
f. 238. illuminant? et conpungendo in fletibus viciorum rubiginem purgant. Qui ergo ita ad amorem sui conditoris inflammati sunt? quo isti nisi inter seraphin numerum sortem sue vocationis acceperunt? Sed hæc fratres karissimi me loquente introrsus vos ad vosmet ipsos reducite? secretorum vestrorum merita cogitationesque discutite; Videte si quid jam boni vobiscum intus agitis? videte si in numero horum agminum que breviter tangendo perstrinximus. sortem vestræ vocationis invenietis[z]; Ve autem anime? quæ in se de iis[a] bonis quæ enumeravimus minime aliquid recognoscit? eique

" culpable actions. And there are some who be full
" of such love for God and their neighbour, that they
" be rightly named *cherubim*. For because, as we have
" said above, the word cherubim signifieth fulness of
" knowledge, and we have learnt from Paul's teaching
" that *love is the fulfilling of the law*, all they who be Rom. xiii.
" more full of love towards God and their neighbour 10.
" than others, receive the lot of their recompence among
" the companies of the cherubim. And there be some
" who, kindled with the torches of heavenly contempla-
" tion, pant with desire after their Creator alone. They
" desire nothing now which this world can give; they
" feed on nothing save the love of things eternal; they
" cast away every earthly thing, they set their affections
" above all things temporal; they love and they are
" fervent, and in their fervency they find rest. They
" are fervent in loving; by speaking they kindle others
" also, and those whom they move by their words, they
" make forthwith to be fervent in the love of God. What
" then shall I call these but *seraphim*, whose heat turned
" into fire shines and burns, because they enlighten the
" eyes of their mind by gazing on things above, and
" purge away the rust of wickedness by pricking of the
" heart and tears. They then who be thus inflamed
" with the love of their Creator, where have they re-
" ceived the lot of their calling, save among the num-
" ber of the seraphim?

" But while I am speaking, dearly beloved brethren,
" bring home these things within your own minds to
" yourselves. Examine ye your thoughts, and the con-
" dition of your inner man; see ye whether ye be now
" within your hearts doing any good thing; see ye
" whether ye will find the lot of your calling among the
" ranks of those heavenly hosts which we have surveyed
" and described in brief. Woe to that soul which dis-
" covereth in itself none of those good things which we
" have reckoned up. And a still worse woe hangeth

[u] in. E. B. [x] accendunt. E. B. [y] istos. E. B.
[z] invenitis. E. B. [a] his. E. B.

adhuc væ deterius imminet. si et privatam se donis intelligit. et nequaquam gemit; Quisquis ergo talis est fratres mei gemendus est valde. quia non gemit. Pensemus igitur accepta electorum munera. et virtute qua possumus ad amorem tante sortis anhelemus. Qui in se donorum gratiam minime recognosci gemat. Qui vero in se minora cognoscit ⁊ maiora[b] aliis non invideat ⁊ quia et superne ille distinctiones beatorum spirituum ita sunt condite ⁊ ut alie aliis sint prælatæ.

[*Here in the MS. is a space of at least two lines.*]

The initial *R* is rubricated. *R*em fratres breviter refero ⁊ quam viro venerabili maximiano tunc patre monasterii mei atque presbitero ⁊ nunc autem siracusano episcopo narrante cognovi. Hanc itaque si sollerter auditis ⁊ caritati vestre non breviter suffragari credo; Nostris modo temporibus victorinus quidam extitit. qui alio quoque nomine emilianus appellatus est ⁊ non inopis substantiæ iuxta mediocritatem vite. Sed quia plerumque regnat in rerum opulentia carnis culpa. in quodam facinore lapsus est. quod debuisset valde pertimescere. ac de
f. 238, col. 2. suæ mortis immanitate cogitare. * Reatus sui[c] igitur consideratione compunctus ⁊ erexit se contra se. mundi hujus omnia reliquit[d] monasterium petiit. In quo nimirum monasterio ⁊ tante humilitatis. tantæque sibi extitit[e] districtionis. ut cuncti fratres qui illic ad amorem divinitatis excreverant ⁊ suam cogerentur vitam despicere. dum illius penitentiam viderent. Studuit namque toto mentis annisu cruciare carnem ⁊ voluntates

[b] aliis majora. E. B. [c] ergo sui. E. B. [d] dereliquit. E. B.

" over it, if it perceiveth itself to be destitute of these " gifts, and yet in no wise groaneth. Whosoever is such, " my brethren, is much to be lamented over, because he " lamenteth not over himself. Let us weigh then the " gracious gifts distributed among the elect; and with " all the might we can, let us pant after and covet their " high lot. Let him who findeth not in himself the " grace of any gift groan. But he who findeth in him- " self the lesser gifts, let him not envy the greater unto " others, because, among the blessed spirits too there " be certain lofty distinctions, in virtue whereof some " of them be preferred to others.

* * * * * *

" I tell you a matter briefly, brethren, which I learned " from the narration of Maximian, a man who was then " father of my monastery, and a presbyter, but now is " Bishop of Syracuse. And if ye hear this tale wisely, " I believe that it will further your charity not a little. " In our own times there lived a certain man of the " name of Victorinus, who was called also by another " name, Emilianus, a man of fair means, considering " that he was only of a middle rank of life. But be- " cause for the most part some fault of the flesh pre- " vaileth in abundance of resources, he fell into some " crime, which he had reason greatly to fear, and to " be thinking of the horror which would attend upon " his death. Pricked to the heart then by the con- " sideration of his guilt, he set himself against himself, " he forsook all the things of this world, he sought a " monastery. In which monastery he proved himself " to be a man of such humbleness of mind, and so " strict a judge of himself, that all the brethren who " had grown up there unto the love of God, were com- " pelled to despise their own life, while they witnessed " his penitence. For with the whole endeavour of his " mind he studied to crucify the flesh, to break the

[e] districtionis extitit. E. B.

proprias frangere. Furtivas orationes querere. cotidianis lacrimis[f] se lavare. despectum sui appetere. oblatam a fratribus venerationem timere. Hic itaque nocturnas fratrum vigilias prævenire consueverat. Et quia mons in quo monasterium situm est ? ex imo[g] latere in secretiore parte prominebat ? illuc consuetudinem fecerat ante vigilias egredi. ut se cotidie in fletu penitentiæ quanto secretius. tanto liberius mactaret. Contemplabatur namque districtionem venturi judicis sui. et jam eidem judici concordans ? puniebat in lacrimis reatum facinoris sui. quadam vero nocte abbas monasterii evigilans[h] ? hunc latenter egredientem intuitus. lento foras pede secutus est. Quem cum in secreto montis latere cerneret. in oratione prostratum ? expectare voluit quando surgeret ? ut ipsam quoque longanimitatem orationis eius exploraret. Cum subito celitus lux emissa super eum effusa est. qui in oratione prostratus jacebat. tantamque[i] se in loco[k] illo[l] sparsit ? ut tota pars regionis illius ex eadem luce candesceret. Quam abbas ut vidit ? intremuit et fugit. Cumque post longum hore spacium isdem frater ad monasterium redisset[m] ? abbas eius ut diceret[n] (*sic*) ? an se[o] (*sic*) super se effusionem tanti luminis agnovisset. requirere eum studuit dicens. Ubi fuisti[p] ? at ille latere posse se credens ? in monasterio se fuisse respondit. Quo negante? (*sic*) Abbas compulsus est dicere quid vidisset. At ille videns se esse depræ-

[f] se lacrymis. E. B. [g] uno. E. B. [h] vigilans. E. B.
[i] tantaque. E. B. [k] illo in loco. E. B.

" power of self-will, to seek a retreat for secret prayer,
" to wash himself daily in the laver of tears, to covet
" contempt of himself, and to fear the reverence which
" was paid to him by the brethren. This man then had
" been in the habit of anticipating the nightly watches
" of the brethren. And because the mountain in which
" the monastery was situate jutted over on the lower
" part of its side, so as to form a secret place of re-
" treat, he had a custom of going out thither before the
" vigil service, that he might daily sacrifice himself in
" the weeping of repentance, all the more freely because
" the more secretly. For he bethought himself of the
" strict search of his Judge, who was to come; and
" now being of one mind with that Judge, he chastised
" himself with tears for the wickedness of his naughty
" deed. But on a certain night the Abbot of the mo-
" nastery, while keeping the watch, spied this man going
" forth privily, and followed him forth slowly. And
" when in the secret side of the mountain he saw him
" fallen on his face in prayer, he was minded to wait
" until he should rise up, that he might discover the
" very length of the time for which he continued in
" prayer. When suddenly a light brake forth from
" heaven, and was shed over him as he lay on his face
" in prayer, and spread itself in that place so largely
" that the whole region became white with that light.
" When the Abbot saw it, he trembled and fled, and
" when, after the long space of an hour, the same
" brother had returned to the monastery, his Abbot,
" that he might learn whether he had perceived the
" breaking forth of this great light upon him, made as
" though he had been seeking him and said, Where hast
" thou been? But he thinking that he might still escape
" notice, answered that he had been in the monastery.
" Then, on his denying [that he had been absent], the
" Abbot was compelled to tell what he had seen. But

[l] E. B. *inserts* claritas *between* loco *and* sparsit. [m] rediisset. E. B.
[n] disceret. E. B. [o] E. B. *omits* se. [p] E. B. *inserts* frater *after* fuisti.

hensum hoc quoque quod abbatem latebat aperuit ? adjungens. Quando super me vidisti lumen de cœlo descendere ? vox etiam pariter venit dicens. Dimissum est peccatum tuum. Et quidem omnipotens Deus peccatum eius potuit tacendo laxare ? sed loquendo per vocem radiendo[q] per lumen ? exemplo suæ misericordiæ nostram[r] ad penitentiam corda[s] voluit concutere. Miramur fratres karissimi ? quod persecutorem suum saulum dominus de celo prostravit ? de cœlo allocutus est. Ecce quoque[t] nostris temporibus peccator et penitens ? vocem de celestibus audivit. Illi dictum est quid me persequeris ? iste vero audire meruit ? dimissum est peccatum tuum. Longe est inferior meritis penitens peccator iste[u]. quam paulus. Sed quia adhuc hac in re de saulo loquimur ? crudelitatem necis anhelantem ? licet (*sic*) audenter dicere. quod saulus propter superbiam vocem increpationis ? iste vero propter humilitatem vocem consolationis audivit. Hunc quod humilitas straverat ? divina pietas erigebat ? illum quod superbia erexerat ? divina severitas humiliabat. Habete ergo fiduciam fratres mei ? de misericordia conditoris nostri. Cogitate quid facitis ? recogitate quæ fecistis. Largitatem superne pietatis aspicite ? et ad misericordem judicem dum adhuc exspectat ? cum lacrimis venite. Considerantes namque quod justus sit ? peccata vestra nolite negligere.

f. 238 b.

[q] radiando. E. B. [r] nostra. E. B.
[s] voluit corda. E. B.

" he, seeing that he was found out, revealed this also,
" which had escaped the Abbot, adding; 'When thou
" sawest a light from heaven descend upon me, there
" came also a voice in like manner, which said; *Thy*
" *sin is forgiven.*' Surely the Almighty God could have
" loosed him from his sin in silence; but by speaking
" with a voice, by shining with a light, He was minded
" rather, through this ensample of His mercy, to stir
" our hearts unto repentance. We marvel, dearly be-
" loved brethren, that the Lord from heaven threw to
" the ground His persecutor Saul; that from heaven
" He spake unto him. Behold, in our times also, one
" who was a sinner and penitent heard a voice from
" the heavenly places. To Saul it was said, *Why per-* Acts ix. 4.
" *secutest thou me?* but this man was privileged to hear
" [the words], *Thy sin is forgiven thee.* That repentant
" sinner is in holiness far below *Paul;* but because
" in this matter we are still speaking of *Saul,* breathing
" out threatening and slaughter, let us freely and boldly
" say that Saul, by reason of his pride, heard the voice
" of reproof, but this man, on account of his humility,
" the voice of consolation. This man, because humility
" had laid him low, the goodness of God raised up;
" that man, because pride had lifted him up, the se-
" verity of God humbled. Cast not away therefore your
" confidence, my brethren, in the mercy of our Creator.
" Consider what ye are doing; review what ye have
" done. Behold the abundance of God's goodness, and
" come ye to the merciful Judge with tears, while He
" waiteth for you. Considering that He is just, do not
" overlook your sins. But considering that He is good,

[t] nostris quoque. E. B. [u] peccator iste pœnitens. E. B.

Considerantes vero quod pius sit ℣ nolite desperare; Prebet apud deum homini fiduciam ℣ deus homo; Est nobis spes magna penitentibus ℣ quia advocatus noster factus est judex noster ℣ qui vivit et regnat cum patre in unitate* spiritus sancti deus ℣ per omnia sæcula sæculorum. AMEN.

* et Spiritu sancto. E. B.

" take heed that ye do not despair. The God-man giv-
" eth unto man confidence toward God. There is good
" hope for us, if we be penitent, because our Advocate
" is ordained to be our Judge, who liveth and reigneth
" with the Father in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God,
" for ever and ever. Amen."

XIV.

This title is not rubricated.

SERMO

IN DIE OMNIUM SANCTORUM.

VENERANDA præsentis diei festivitas tanto fratres karissimi devocius est celebranda. quanto habundantius omnium sanctorum suffragiis tota redundat; Provida quippe sancti patres sanctierunt dispensatione. ut una die omnium sanctorum haberetur memoria / et celebraretur* solen-

f. 238 b, col. 2.

* "In the West, the institution of this festival is intimately connected with the dedication to Christian purposes of the Pantheon, or Rotunda, at Rome. This temple, built in honour of the victory of Augustus at Actium, was dedicated by M. Agrippa to Jupiter Vindex, and was called the Pantheon, probably from the number of statues of the gods which it contained, though other reasons are assigned for its name.

Up to the time of St. Gregory the Great [A.D. 590—604], idol temples were generally thrown down, or, if they were suffered to remain, were thought unworthy to be used in the service of God. Gregory himself at first maintained this principle, but in the latter part of his life, thought it would conduce more to the conversion of the heathen, if they were allowed to worship in the accustomed spot with new rites, (see his well-known letter to Mellitus, in Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 30; Opp., vi. page 79); and from this time, the principle of converting heathen fanes to Christian uses seems to have become familiar. In the beginning of the seventh century, the Pantheon remained almost the solitary monument of the old heathen worship in Rome. In the year 607 Boniface III. obtained from the Emperor Phocas the important recognition of the supremacy of Rome over all other Churches; and in the same year, his successor, Boniface IV., having cleansed and restored the Pantheon, obtained the Emperor's permission to dedicate it to the service of God, in the name 'S. Mariæ semper Virginis et omnium martyrum.' This dedication is commemorated, and is believed to have taken place, on May 13. . . . . The history of the establishment of the festival of All Saints on Nov. 1, is somewhat obscure." Originally, Nov. 1 seems to have been especially a Roman festival, "probably the dedication-feast of an oratory dedicated by Gregory III. [A.D. 731—741], 'In honorem Omnium Sanctorum.' But in the eighth century, the ob-

XIV.

A SERMON

ON THE DAY OF ALL SAINTS.

THE august festival of the present day, dearly-beloved brethren, is all the more devoutly to be observed, because the whole of it abounds more largely [than other days] with the prayers of all the saints. For it was prudently ordered by the holy fathers, that on one and the same day should be kept a memorial of all

servance of the festival was by no means confined to Rome." It had then extended to Germany, France, and England; but was still not universal. "It was perhaps this diversity of practice, which induced Gregory IV., in the year 835, to suggest to the Emperor Lewis the Pious a general ordinance on the subject. Sigebert in his *Chronicon* tells us, under that year; 'Then by the advice of Pope Gregory, and with the assent of all the Bishops, the Emperor Lewis made a decree, that in Gaul and Germany the festival of All Saints, which the Romans solemnize in pursuance of the ordinance of Pope Boniface, should be solemnized on the Kalends of November.' It would seem from this, that the festivals of May 13 and Nov. 1 had already coalesced on the latter day, and that the one festival then observed was referred to Boniface IV., who in fact instituted that of May 13. The time was perhaps chosen as being, in a large part of Lewis' dominions, the time of leisure after harvest, when men's hearts are disposed to thankfulness to the Giver of all good. From this time"—more than two centuries before the birth of our Herbert—"All Saints' Day became one of the great festivals of the Church, and its observance general throughout Europe." (Smith and Cheetham's Dict. of Christian Antiquities, ART. All Saints.)

The old collect for All Saints' Day in the Missal of Sarum is as follows:—

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui nos omnium sanctorum merita sub una tribuisti celebritate venerari; quæsumus, ut desideratam nobis tuæ propitiationis abundantiam, multiplicatis intercessoribus, largiaris. Per Dominum nostrum.

Almighty and everlasting God, of whose gift it cometh that under one solemnity we venerate the virtues of all the saints, we beseech thee, as our intercessors are thus multiplied, to pour down upon us the abundance of thy mercy, which is our heart's desire. Through our Lord.

nitas. ut quod diversis temporibus minus sollicite exhibebatur. una in die omnium sanctorum collectæ multitudoni (*sic*) attentius redderetur. Fuit itaque heri jejunandum. vigilandum. pauperibus serviendum. ut una suppleretur vigilia. quod tocius anni vigiliis neglectum fuit. Ita hodie in veneratione omnium sanctorum exultandum est ? eorumque agones et triumphos dignis præconiis recitandos [b]. Magnus deus. et magna virtus ejus. et sapientie ejus ?. non est numerus; Magna ecclesia. et magnus fidelium numerus. et fidelium electionis nullus finis; Prima etate electus est abel ? seth. enos. enoc. quorum tanta fuit religio.

[b] This is obviously a mistake either of the author or of the copyist for *agones et triumphi recitandi. Agon* (the Greek ἀγὼν) is a very expressive and thoroughly scriptural word. It is used of the conflict undergone by saints in suffering for Christ's sake (Phil. i. 30); the wrestling in intercessory prayer for others (Col. ii. 1); of the struggle of anxiety and toil involved in the work of an Apostle (1 Thess. ii. 2); of the good fight of faith (1 Tim. vi. 12; 2 Tim. iv. 7); and of the Christian race (Heb. xii. 1). It is remarkable however, that in none of these places does the Vulgate use the Latin word *agon.* That word only occurs twice in the New Testament, once in 1 Cor. ix. 25, *omnis qui in agone contendit,* (πᾶς ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος), "Every man that striveth for the mastery;" and again in 2 Tim. ii. 5, *qui certat in agone* (ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀθλῇ τις), "and if a man also strive for masteries."

[c] "Of the election of the faithful there is no limit"—*fidelium electionis nullus finis.* These words are not to be taken literally; for of course the number of God's elect must one day be accomplished. (See the Prayer before the Collect in the Burial Service.) And the mention of the precise number of fish in the second miraculous draught, "an hundred and fifty and three," is generally supposed to teach the definiteness of the number of those who will attain to glory. Herbert simply means to say that the number of the elect is beyond the power of human calculation, as indeed they are said to be in the portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle, "a great multitude, which *no man could number,* of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues." (Rev. vii. 9). Among the reasons, which Bede gives (Comment. in Lib. Gen. cap. xv) why the elect people of God are compared to stars, is this,—"sicut stellæ, ab hominibus dinumerari nequeunt,"—"like stars, they cannot be counted by men."

the saints, and a solemn festival celebrated, so that the reverence that was less carefully paid at the sundry seasons [of the Christian year], might be more attentively rendered on one and the same day to the multitude of all the saints gathered together. Therefore yesterday we were required to fast, to watch, and to minister to the poor, in order that by one vigil might be supplied what had been neglected in the vigils of the whole year. And so to-day we are required to rejoice while paying [due] reverence to all the saints, and to rehearse their conflicts and their triumphs in worthy hymns of praise. *Great is God, and great is his power: and of his wisdom there is no number.* Great is the Church, and great is the number of the faithful, and of the election of the faithful there is no limit[c]. In the first age[d] of the world, Abel was elected, and Seth and Enos[e], and Enoch, whose devotion was so

Ps. cxlvi. 5 (Douay). See Apoc. vii. 9.

[d] For the six ages of the world according to the usual mediæval division, and for the symbolization of them by the six water-pots of stone at Cana, and for Herbert's division of the ages into eight, see above, pp. 61, 63, 65, and note z on p. 63.

[e] The reason why Herbert places Enos among the elect, doubtless is, that the Vulgate, the only translation of the Scriptures with which he was acquainted, makes Enos to have been the first man who called upon the name of the Lord.

GEN. iv. 26.	DOUAY.
Sed et Seth natus est filius, quem vocavit Enos: iste cœpit invocare nomen Domini.	But to Seth also was born a son, whom he called Enos; this man began to call upon the name of the Lord.

According to the true rendering of the Hebrew, the verb "to call" is impersonal, and the meaning is, "then the practice of calling upon the name of the Lord was begun." But, anyhow, the commencement of this practice is closely connected by the sacred text with the birth of Enos.

Bishop Wordsworth sees a special significance in the use of the incommunicable name of Jehovah: "What the sacred writer here declares is, that the holy family of Seth were so impressed by a consideration of their own weakness and sinfulness—a weakness expressed by the name of Seth's son *Enosh*, and of God's majesty and love, that in this family there was thenceforth a public profession of faith, not only in the Creator (Elohim), but in the Ever-living Author of Life—the loving and merciful Lord God, who revealed Himself in relations of special tenderness to *man*." (Comment. on Genesis, *in loc.*)

ut usque in hodiernum diem eorum memoria protendatur. Magnus noe. cum filiis suis propaga (*sic*) hominum. et inter fluctus et tempestates diluvii omnium animantium clementissimus conservator. forma fortitudinis. et exemplum spei. qui cunctis animantibus aquarum violentia submersis domini non diffidebat de promissione; Triumphavit noe de aquis. et justicie nomen adeptus est sempiternum. Successit habraham. vir caldéuus (*sic*). et siderum contemplator. audivit deum. et obedivit dei.[f] et mandata dei intrepidus custodivit. Egredere inquit deus de terra tua? et de cognatione tua. et de domo patris tui. et veni in terram quam monstravero tibi. et faciam te in gentem magnam. Egressus de domo sua vir fidelis. et diuturno fatigatus ex itinere. non ultra rediit ad cognationem suam. Exemplum prebens abrenuntiantibus sæculi ne ulterius redeant ad sæculum? quoniam nemo mittens manum aratro et respiciens retro. aptus est regno dei. Magnus
f. 239. Isaac. pollens castitate. et justicia. et qui nulla

[f] *Dei*, an evident mistake for *Deo*. The words *mandata Dei* immediately following, may have caught the eye of the scribe and led him into error.

[g] "An observer of the stars." Josephus tells us (Ant. I. Book I. cap. 8, sec. 2) that, on occasion of Abram's going down into Egypt, "he communicated to the Egyptians arithmetic, and *delivered to them the science of astronomy*, for before Abram came into Egypt they were unacquainted with those parts of learning." It is possible that the idea of Abraham's having been an astronomer and student of the stars, may have taken its rise from Gen. xv. 5, where God bids him "look toward heaven and tell the stars," as if the Divine Being would enforce the promise He was on the point of giving to Abraham, by some object with which the Patriarch was familiar. Perhaps also the word Chaldæan, being equivocal, may have caused some confusion of thought. Abraham was a Chaldæan *geographically*, inasmuch as he came from Ur of the Chaldees. But the name Chaldæan was also given to a

great that the memory of them reaches even unto the present day. Great was Noah, who with his sons formed the [second] graft of the human race, and who amidst the waves and storms of the flood was the compassionate preserver of all living things, a pattern of patient endurance, and an example of hope; who, when all living creatures were drowned by the violence of the waters, felt no mistrust of the Lord's promise. Noah triumphed over the waters, and gat thereby the everlasting renown of righteousness. To him succeeded Abraham, a Chaldæan, and an observer of the stars[g]. He heard the Lord's voice, and obeyed God, and kept His commandments without quailing [at them]. *Go forth,* said God to him, *out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and out of thy father's house, and come into the land which I shall shew thee. And I will make of thee a great nation.* The faithful man went forth from his home, and wearied by long pilgrimages, never again returned to his kindred, giving an example to those who renounced the world that they should never again return to the world, since *no man putting hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.* Great was Isaac, mighty in chastity[h] and righteous-

See Heb. xi. 7.

Gen. xii. 1, 2.

St. Luke ix. 62.

branch of the order of Babylonian Magi, who were professors of astronomy and astrology, in which application of it there is no geographical reference. An interesting story is told of Abraham in the Koran, which shews that while he contemplated the host of heaven, he was not fascinated into idolatry by its beauty, his heart was not secretly enticed, nor did his hand kiss his mouth. The story is thus given by Dean Stanley (Lectures on the Jewish Church, London, 1863, vol. i. p. 17): "When night overshadowed him, he saw a star, and said, 'This is my Lord.' But when it set, he said, 'I like not those that set.' And when he saw the moon rising, he said, 'This is my Lord.' But when the moon set, he answered, 'Verily if my Lord direct me not in the right way, I shall be as one of those who err.' And when he saw the sun rising, he said, 'This is my Lord, this is greater than the star or moon.' But when the sun went down, he said, 'O my people, I am clear of these things. I turn my face to Him who hath made the heaven and the earth.'"

[h] "Isaac, mighty in chastity." The idea of the conjugal chastity of Isaac was probably derived from the account of his meeting with Rebecca

aliena rapuit. set propria frequenter diripientibus sine querimonia concessit. Jacob .xii. liberis insignis. laban idolatre irreprehensibiliter servivit ? illatas injurias patienter sustinuit. conjuges abduxit. et patri reconciliatus avitum exilium religiosa conversatione decoravit. Flevit amissum filium. sed iracundiam non exercuit in proditoribus. Descendit in egiptum. non adoraturus. sed egiptiorum idola condempnaturus. Erexit altare. livit oleo et cum deo colluctatus est. Dictus est israel ? hoc est vir videns deum. quoniam posteriorum neglector. in anterioribus cotidie ferventius extendebatur. Veteranus benedixit filiis. et

in Gen. xxiv. 62, et seq. We there read that he prepared himself by solitary musing and prayer for the reception of his bride; that she, after dismounting, covered herself with her veil, and that Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's tent. The prayer in our Marriage Service, which precedes the union of the parties by the Priest, and which is founded upon the ancient benediction of the wedding-ring, points to Isaac and Rebecca as models of the conjugal relationship. "Send thy blessing upon these thy servants, this man and this woman, whom we bless in thy Name; that, as Isaac and Rebecca lived faithfully together, so these persons may surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt them made, (whereof this Ring given and received is a token and pledge,) and may ever remain in perfect love and peace together, and live according to thy laws."

The Rev. W. T. Bullock, in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," (Art. Isaac), tells us that by Philo, and those interpreters of Scripture who were influenced by the Alexandrian Philosophy, Isaac's conjugal fidelity is brought out in high relief. "His attachment to one wife (Rebekah = perseverance) is contrasted with Abraham's multiplied connexions, and with Jacob's toil-won wives, as shewing the superiority of Isaac's heaven-born, self-sufficing wisdom, to the accumulated knowledge of Abraham, and the painful experience of Jacob."

[1] "Laban the idolater." The reference is to Gen. xxxi. 19, 32, 34, 35. In this passage, Laban calls the teraphim (or images) which Rachel had secreted, his gods. One of Bishop Wordsworth's notes on this passage is as follows:—"The *teraphim* seem to have resembled the human form (1 Sam. xix. 13), and sometimes were made of silver (Judg. xvii. 4), and were consulted as oracles (cp. Zech. x. 2), and seem to have been of Chaldæan origin (Ezek. xxi. 21), and are denounced by God as abominable in

ness, and one who laid hands upon nothing that belonged to his neighbour, but, when others oftentimes spoiled his possessions, yielded them without murmuring. Jacob, renowned for his twelve sons, served without blame Laban the idolater[i], patiently endured the injuries inflicted on him, brought away his wives, and, when reconciled to his brother, adorned the banishment which he inherited from his ancestors with [the ornament of] a devout conversation. He bewailed the loss of his son, but shewed no anger against the betrayers. He went down into Egypt, though not to worship, but rather to condemn the idols[j] of the Egyptians. He built an altar; he anointed it with oil; and he wrestled with God. He was called Israel, that is to say, a man who seeth God[k], inasmuch as forgetting those things which are behind, he reached forth more fervently day by day to the things which are before. When well-stricken in age he blessed his sons, and uttered glorious prophecies respecting the

See Gen. xxvi. 12—23.

See Gen. xxxi. 19, 30, 32, 34.

See Gen. xxxvii. 33—35.

See Gen. xxviii. 18, and xxxv. 14.

See Gen. xxxii. 24, 28, 30.

See Phil. iii. 13, 14.

His sight (1 Sam. xv. 23; 2 Kings xxiii. 24). Freedom from *idolatry* seems to be described as being "without teraphim (Hos. iii. 4)."

[j] "He went down into Egypt, not to worship, but rather to condemn the idols of the Egyptians." There does not seem to be any explicit Scriptural authority for this statement. Jacob is never represented as coming into contact with the idolatries of the Egyptians, though doubtless he must have done so. All that we read is, that he received in the visions of the night God's express permission to go into Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 3), and God's promise to go with him (ver. 4), which had not been accorded to Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 2). Hence we may safely conclude that, when the idolatries of Egypt crossed his path, Jacob condemned them; and his abhorrence of Egypt, as an idolatrous country, may also perhaps be gathered from the special charge, which he made to his sons with his latest breath, not to bury him there, (see Gen. xlix. 29, to end).

[k] "Israel, that is to say, a man who seeth God"—*aliquando bonus dormitat Herbertus.* The wrestling of Jacob with the Angel at Peniel is in his mind, and he confuses the name given by Jacob *to the place*, which means "the face of God," with the name given *to him* by the angel, "Israel," = prince of God. Though it has no bearing upon our immediate subject, we may be allowed to remark incidentally, that one of St. Luke's reasons for telling us that Anna was the daughter of Phanuel or Penuel, is to draw our attention to the coincidence between the meaning of her father's name, and the fact of her having looked upon the face of God Incarnate.

de salvatore mundi ceteris patriarchis eavidentius (*sic*) præclara preconia protulit; Non auferetur inquid (*sic*) septrum (*sic*) de iuda. et dux de femoribus ejus. donec veniat qui mittendus est? et ipse erit exspectatio gentium; Ligans ad vineam pullum suum. et ad vitem o fili mi aseniam suam; Lavabit vino stolam suam. et sanguine uve pallium suum. Pulcriores sunt oculi ejus vino. et dentes ejus lacte candidiores. Magnus iosep? salvator egipti. magnus moses inventor legis[l]. et divine faciei contemplator. Decem plagis egiptum domuit[m]. sexcenta milia armatorum cum senibus et mulieribus. et inbelli etate per mare rubum (*sic*) traduxit. in deserto occuluit. celesti pane pavit. rudes eruderavit[n]. et ad pietatem cultumque justicie educavit. Mortuus est ultra iordanen. ipse. et illa multitudo
f. 239, col. 2. sanctorum qui de egipto egressi sunt. * præter ihesum et caleb qui in fide permanserunt et de

[l] *Moses inventor legis. Inventor* hardly seems the suitable word, for in what sense can Moses be said to be the *discoverer* of the Law? The Law was revealed to him by God, not discovered by him in the exercise of his natural faculties. The Latin of the Vulgate does not help us here, for the word *inventor* only occurs twice in it; once in 2 Mac. vii. 31, where Antiochus is called *inventor omnis malitiæ*, "the author of all mischief;" and a second time in Rom. i. 30, *inventores malorum*, "inventors of evil things." Probably *inventor* may be a mistake for some more appropriate word. Might Herbert have written *incentor*, which would mean that Moses set the first notes of the Law, the Ten Commandments being regarded as a kind of gamut or rudiment of God's Law?

[m] *Decem plagis egiptum domuit*—"by the ten plagues he subdued Egypt." Our word "plague" is only the Greek πληγή, *Lat. plāga*, "a blow or stroke." The plagues of Egypt are called *plagæ* in Exod. ix. 14, *in hac vice mittam omnes plagas meas super cor tuum*, "I will at this time send all my plagues upon thy heart;" and in 1 Sam. iv. 8, *hi sunt Dii, qui percusserunt Ægyptum omni plaga in deserto*, "these are the gods that struck Egypt with all the plagues in the desert."

[n] *Rudes erūderavit*—"he cleared them of barbarism" One would have

Saviour of the world more clearly than the other patriarchs. *The sceptre shall not be taken away,* said he, *from Juda, nor a ruler from his thighs, until he come that is to be sent; and he shall be the expectation of nations. Tying his foal to the vineyard*°, *and his ass, O my son, to the vine. He shall wash his robe* with *wine, and his garment* with *the blood of the grape. His eyes are more beautiful than wine, and his teeth whiter than milk.* Great was Joseph, the saviour of Egypt. Great was Moses, the finder of the Law, and the beholder of the face of God. By the ten plagues he subdued Egypt. Six hundred thousand armed men, with old men and women, and [children] of tender age unable to bear arms, he led through the Red Sea; he hid them in the desert, fed them with bread from heaven, cleared them of barbarism, and trained them to godliness and the study of righteousness. He died beyond Jordan himself, as did also the whole multitude of saints who came out of Egypt, with the exception of Jesus and Caleb, who had continued in faith, and had not de-

Gen. xlix. 10—12.

See Exod. xii. 37, and xiii. 18; Num. i. 45, 46; and xi. 21.

expected *erūdivit*, "he educated them;" and perhaps Herbert wrote this, and has been misrepresented by his copyist; but *erūderavit* has a meaning. *Rūdus, ĕris*, a neuter noun, means "stones broken small," and hence the rubbish of decayed buildings. Hence *erūdero* means to clear a space of rubbish. Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne (A. D. 472—482), uses the word in his letters figuratively, applying it to the weeding out superfluous passages from a work.

° "Tying his foal to the vineyard, &c. &c." The Patristic interpretation of these words is as follows. The ass's foal represents the Gentiles, unbroken to God's yoke of the Law; the vine is the Jewish Church according to the allegory in Isaiah v.; Christ's garments are washed in wine, to represent the blood with which His raiment is stained, when He treads the winepress of God's wrath, (see Isaiah lxiii. 3); the redness of His eyes with wine represents the holy joy of His people at Pentecost; and the whiteness of His teeth with milk, indicates His finding suitable nourishment for babes. Understood thus, the prediction will be, that Messiah should unite the Gentiles with the Jewish Church, "making both one;" that He should crush His enemies and triumph over them gloriously; that He should pour down His Spirit upon His Church, the result of which should be an exhilarating joy in the hearts of believers; and that He should supply suitable nourishment to the lambs as well as the sheep of His flock.

divinis promissionibus nullis anxietatibus desperaverant. Invadunt terram repromissionis [p] electi viri. et que factà fuerat patriarchis populo israëli adimpletur promissio. Extirpantur impii. et civitates palestine sanctis adimplentur cultoribus. Inde prophetæ. et sancti procreantur doctores.

[p] *Terram repromissionis* — "the land of promise." The prefix *re* does not seem in the ecclesiastical Latin to add anything to the sense of *promissio*, through Cicero in the classical Latin uses *repromissio* of a counter-promise. The word is frequent in the Vulgate. The passage from which Herbert takes the expression *terram repromissionis*, is probably Heb. xi. 9, *Fide demoratus est in terra repromissionis, tanquam in aliena;* "By faith he abode in the land of promise, as in a strange country."

[q] By the holy doctors, Herbert may possibly mean the members of the schools of the Prophets, which were instituted by Samuel, and continued down to the close of the canon of the Old Testament. These were theological colleges, in which the chief subject of study was the Law and its interpretation, to which was added music and sacred poetry. All the members of these colleges belonged to the prophetic order; but only those who had a divine call to the office, and a special divine illumination qualifying them for it, had the prophetic gift. Amos had the gift, though he did not belong to the order, (see Amos vii. 14); while hundreds belonged to the order, who did not possess the gift. These, we must suppose, gave religious exhortations, and composed hymns and set them to music, but they did this as the result of training, not of inspiration. (See the Rev. Prebendary Meyrick's Article, PROPHET, in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible.")

[r] "In the middle region of the world." The notion of a sacred place, containing a great temple and oracle, being geographically the centre of the earth, found place in heathen systems of religion. Thus in the *cella*, or holy place, of the temple of Delphi, "was the Omphalos, or Navel-stone, which was supposed to mark the middle point of the earth. According to tradition, two eagles, which had been sent by Zeus, one from the east and the other from the west, met at this point, and thus determined it to be the centre of the earth. (Pind. Pyth., iv. 131, vi. 3; Strab., ix. p. 419). The Omphalos was a white stone, adorned with stripes of various kinds, and upon it were the representations of the two eagles." (Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, ART. DELPHI.) A similar notion prevailed respecting the Jewish temple and oracle, which may be regarded as the core of the Holy Land. A very curious map of the world is exhibited in Hereford Cathedral, which was executed by Richard de Bello, Canon of Hereford, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. This map represents the earth as circular, and surrounded by the ocean; and the Holy Land appears in the middle of the map, and in the centre of it is Jerusalem, the supposed centre of

spaired of the divine promise through doubt or fear. Chosen men invade the promised land, and the promise which had been made to the patriarchs is fulfilled to the people of Israel. The godless heathen are rooted out, and the cities of Palestine are filled with holy inhabitants. Of them were begotten the prophets and the holy doctors [q], and [thus] in the middle [r] region

the world. This of itself is enough to shew the very primitive notions of geography which prevailed two centuries after Herbert's time, and at a later period still. In the *De Locis Sanctis Libellus* of Venerable Bede (cap. 2), the exact centre of the earth is said to be the hole which acted as a socket for the Cross of Christ. Bede's words are:—"In the middle of Jerusalem, where the dead man came to life when our Lord's Cross was placed above him, stands a lofty pillar, which at the summer solstice does not throw a shadow, wherefore it is thought that the centre of the earth is in this place; and it has been said in history, 'God, ages ago, hath wrought our salvation in the middle of the earth.' According to which opinion, Victorinus, Bishop of the Church of Poitiers, writing of Golgotha, hath these words:—

"In the earth's centre, 'tis believed the place
By Jews called Golgotha, we seek to trace."

Victorinus was not Bishop of Poitiers, but of Pettaw, on the Drave in Styria,—*Petavionensis* not *Pictaviensis* (see Fabricius, *Bibliotheca*, ART. VICTORINUS.) He flourished towards the close of the third century, and suffered martyrdom in the persecution under Diocletian (A.D. 303). Moreover, there is no evidence to shew that the little poem, *De Cruce Domini*, the two first lines of which Bede quotes, was written by him. It is to be found at the end of the works of St. Cyprian, where it is entitled, "A Hymn of Victorinus Pictaviensis on the Lord's Cross, wrongly attributed to Cyprian." See the edition of St. Cyprian's Works by Baluzius, [Paris, 1726, p. clix].

There is, of course, a most important sense in which Jerusalem is really the centre of the world, inasmuch as the Word of God went forth from it to the surrounding nations, and the Living Waters of the Holy Spirit thence took their rise. See Isaiah ii. 2, 3; Ezek. xlvii. 1:—"And it shall come to pass in the last days, *that* the mountain of the LORD'S house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob: and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem." "Afterward he brought me again unto the door of the house; and, behold, waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward: for the forefront of the house *stood toward* the east, and the waters came down from under, from the right side of the house, at the south *side* of the altar."

et in mundi parte media unus adoratur deus. fulgebant sancti. et sicut sintille (*sic*) in arundineto discurrebant? judicabant nationes.[a] et dominabantur populis. et deus deorum in hebreo regnabat populo; Exspectabant Christum. et sermo populi communis erat de Christo. Fidelis populus. in cujus religione christianorum temporum religio fideliter occultabatur. Hii fratres ad hanc omnes pertinent solennitatem.[b] et quicunque de verbi incarnatione senserunt. prædixerunt. figuraverunt. crediderunt. exspectaverunt presentis diei leticie exspertes (*sic*) non erant. Suos flagellabat dominus fideles præliis. et exiliis. flagellabat et corripiebat. expellebat. et revocabat. Nostra plane præsignans exilia. et figurans reditus. quoniam quamdiu sumus in corpore isto? peregrinamus a domino. promissam suspirantes civitatem. et cum propheta conquerentes; Heu mihi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est. habitavi cum habitantibus cedar? multum incola fuit anima mea. Erant mihi lacrimæ meæ panes die ac nocte. dum dicitur mihi cotidie ubi est dominus tuus. Certe fratres antiqui sancti magnæ fuerunt fidei. magne fuerunt spei. qui voluerunt videre que vos videtis et non viderunt. et audire que vos auditis et non audierunt. Exspectabant in ebreo populo salvatorem mundi. sed præsen-

[a] This passage of the Book of Wisdom (cap. iii.) forms part of our own first lesson for All Saints' Day. Verse 8, "The saints shall judge nations, and rule over people, and their Lord shall reign for ever," was part of the Gradual formerly sung on All Saints' Day. The Gradual was an anthem sung after the Epistle.

[b] "All these are concerned in the present solemnity." It is thoroughly

of the world one God is worshipped; *the just shone, and ran to and fro like sparks among the reeds. They judged nations, and ruled over people*[s], and the God of gods reigned among the Hebrew people. They looked for Christ, and the common talk of the people was of Christ. Verily a faithful people, in whose religion the religion of Christian times was faithfully laid up in mystery. All these, my brethren, are concerned in the present solemnity[t]; yea, and whosoever had an understanding of the Incarnation of the Word, foretold it, shewed it forth in figure, believed in it, looked for it, had their share in the joy of the present day. The Lord was wont to scourge[u] His faithful people by sword and banishment; yea, He scourged and corrected them, He drave them out and called them back. And hereby He plainly signified afore our banishment, and prefigured our return, since, as long as *we are in* this *body, we are absent from the Lord*, sighing after the promised city, and making moan with the prophet, *Wo is me, that my sojourning is prolonged! I have dwelt with the inhabitants of Cedar: my soul hath been a long sojourner. My tears* were *my bread day and night, whilst it is said to me daily: Where is thy* Lord? Certainly, my brethren, the ancient saints were men of great faith, were men of great hope, who *desired to see the things that you see, and have not seen them; and to hear the things that you hear, and have not heard them.* Among the Hebrew people [generally] they looked for

Wisdom iii. 7, 8.

2 Cor. v. 8.

Ps. cxix. 5, 6 (Douay).

Ps. xli. 4 (Douay).

St. Luke x. 24.

Scriptural to unite the Saints of the Old Testament with those of the New, in the great commemoration of All Saints' Day. For St. Paul represents them as waiting for their perfection, until Christians shall be ready to share with them the better things of the New Covenant, as attesting the same truths which in a more developed form Christians embrace, and as having lived by the same faith which animates and supports ourselves. (See Heb. xi. 39, 40; xii. 1.)

[u] "The Lord was wont to scourge His faithful people." Herbert's mind is still running upon Heb. xi., xii. Here he is thinking of cap. xii. 6: *Quem diligit Dominus, castigat; flagellat autem omnem filium, quem recipit.* "For whom the Lord loveth, he chastiseth; and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth."

tiam salvatoris illius populi sole reliquie cognoverunt. Cognovit eum zacharias. elisabeth et
f. 239 b. iohannes. cognovit symeon.* cognovit anna. sancti cognoverunt apostoli. et discipuli. et illa primitiva ecclesia. cujus erat cor unum et anima una. semen videlicet totius ecclesie. et omnium lumen nationum præscitarum. et prædestinatarum ad pietatem. Firmus paries de circumcisione. qui in divino ædificio erigitur. Pinguis oliva. in cujus radice oleastri gentium inseruntur. Unde david. ille proavus Christi et facundissimus vates. Laudate inquit dominum omnes gentes. laudate eum omnes populi. Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia ejus. et veritas domini manet in eternum. Libet igitur fratres dilectissimi mentis oculos attollere. et de quattuor mundi partibus ad vocem salvatoris omnes gentes convenire. summa congratulatione contueri. Siluerat deus. et sui silentii nox peragebat iter. Si quidem ante peccatum humane nature loquebatur deus. Perpetrato vero peccato. divini colloquii familiaritate privata est humana natura. et iratus deus avertit faciem suam ab hominibus et conticuit usque ad incarnationem verbi sui. et hoc est medium silentium inter verba quæ habuit deus ante peccatum. et verba quæ protulit filio suo incarnato.

* "Firm was the wall of circumcision which was erected in the divine building." From the fact that "firm was the wall" is succeeded in the next sentence by "fat was the olive-tree," we incline to think Herbert's meaning to be that the Church of the Gentiles is built up on the Church of the circumcision; just as, in the other figure, the wild olive-branches of the Gentiles are grafted into the good olive-tree of Israel. But in speaking of circumcision as a wall, it is singular that St. Paul's expression, "the middle wall of partition," Eph. ii. 14, 15, did not occur to

the Saviour of the world; but, when He came, only a remnant of that people recognised Him. Zacharias, Elizabeth, and John recognised Him; Simon recognised Him; Anna recognised Him; the holy Apostles and Disciples recognised Him, and that earliest Church which *had but one heart and one soul*, the seed from which the whole Church sprang, and a light of all the nations which were foreknown and predestined to godliness. Firm was the wall[v] of circumcision which was erected in the divine building; fat was the olive-tree upon whose root the wild olive-branches of the Gentiles were graffed in. Whence David, that ancestor of Christ and most eloquent prophet, saith; *O praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise him, all ye people. For his mercy is confirmed upon us: and the truth of the Lord remaineth for ever.* It pleaseth us, then, well-beloved brethren, to lift up the eyes of our mind, and to behold all nations flocking together to the voice of the Saviour from the four corners of the world with most joyful greeting. God had hitherto kept silence, and the [long] night of His silence was finishing its course[w]. For before the Fall, God was wont to talk with man; but after sin had been committed, the race of man was deprived of [the comfort of] this friendly converse, and God being provoked to anger, turned away His face from men, and kept silence even to the time of the Incarnation of His Word. And this was the middle season of silence between the words which God had [with man] before the Fall, and the words which He spake to His Incarnate Son. The patriarchs [indeed]

See Acts iv. 32.

See Rom. xi. 17, 24.

Ps. cxvi. (Douay).

See Ps. xlix. 21, 3 (Douay).

See Wisd. xviii. 14.

him; in which case he would have spoken of circumcision not as a foundation to be built upon, but as a barrier which Christ removed, thus making both portions of God's household one.

[w] "The long night of His silence was finishing its course." Is there any allusion here to that grand passage in Wisdom xviii. 14, 15:—

Cum enim quietum silentium contineret omnia, et nox in suo cursu medium iter haberet, omnipotens sermo Tuus de cœlo a regalibus sedibus . . . prosilivit.

For while all things were in quiet silence, and the night was in the midst of her course, thy almighty Word leapt down from heaven, from thy royal throne.

Clamaverunt patriarchæ figuris. clamaverunt prophetæ prædicationibus. sed aliud est loqui ore alieno? aliud est loqui ore proprio. Unde spiritus sanctus in canticis. Osculetur me inquit osculo oris sui. quia meliora sunt ubera tua vino. fragrantia unguentis optimis. Verbum dei ipse est filius dei. virtus dei. sapientia dei. clamavit itaque verbum dei. et universa respondit creatura. Unde dominus ad apostolos. Predicate

[x] This grand statement of the distinction between God's speaking with His own mouth, and using human organs and mouth-pieces, is, after all, only an expansion of those four magnificent verses with which the Epistle to the Hebrews opens, and which Longinus gives as one of the finest instances of the sublime to be found anywhere in literature. "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by *his* Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds; who being the brightness of *his* glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they."

[y] "Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth." St. Bernard's first and second Sermons on the Song of Songs, [Opp. Paris, 1719, tom. i. col. 1276, etc.] beautifully illustrate the use which Herbert makes of this passage. The second Sermon begins thus:—"I am pricked to the heart, and covered with confusion, when I reflect upon the ardour of desire with which of old the Fathers sighed after the presence of Christ in the flesh, and I can scarcely refrain from weeping, so ashamed am I of the lukewarmness and torpor of these miserable times. For to which of us does the actual exhibition of this grace bring a joy at all equal to the desire, which the promise of it kindled in the Saints of old?... For each one of the Fathers, who had the [spiritually] perfect mind, was wont to say, 'To what purpose are these babbling words of the prophets? rather *let him*, who is fairer than the sons of men, *kiss me with the kiss of his mouth*. No longer do I listen to Moses; he is become to me slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. The lips of Isaiah are unclean; Jeremiah cannot speak, for he is a child; and all the prophets are wanting in eloquence. Let He Himself, whom they speak of, Himself speak; let Him kiss me with the kiss of His mouth. Let Him speak to me no longer in them, or by them, since water [bound up] in clouds of the air is dark; but let Him, whose gracious presence and streams of won-

cried out by types, the Prophets by their predictions; but it is one thing to speak by the mouth of another, a different thing to speak with one's own mouth[x]. Whence the Holy Ghost in the Canticles saith, *Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth*[y]*: for thy breasts are better than wine, smelling sweet with the best ointments.* The Word of God is the [very] Son of God Himself, *the power of God, the wisdom of God.* So the Word of God cried aloud, and the whole creation answered Him. Whence saith the Lord to the Apostles;

Cant. i. 1, 2.

See 1 Cor. i. 24.

derful doctrine may be in me a well of water springing up into everlasting life, kiss me with the kiss of His mouth. . . . . Not indeed as if I presumed to ask that I should be kissed with His mouth, (for this is part of the special felicity and singular prerogative of that human nature, which was taken into union with God); but in more humble strain I pray Him to kiss me with *the kiss* of His mouth, which indeed is a common privilege of many, who are able to say, *Of His fulness have all we received.* Give me your attention. Let the mouth which kisses be the Word who takes flesh; the kissed mouth, the flesh which is taken; the kiss, in which the kisser and the kissed both bear a part, is then the Person Who is made up of both, the *mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.* According to this interpretation, none of the Saints presumed to say, *Let Him kiss me with His mouth,* but only *with the kiss of His mouth,* reserving that [former] prerogative to Him upon whom the mouth of the Word was then, once for all, and specially impressed, when the fulness of the Godhead made itself over to Him bodily."

It will be interesting to add a few words on the same verse of the Canticles from modern expositors. The following is from Henry Ainsworth's Song of Songs, in English metre, with Annotations:—"Here Solomon manifesteth the desire of himselfe, and of all the faithfull, to enjoy the blessings and graces of Christ; saying, *Let him kisse mee.* Whereby the Church desireth to have Christ manifested in the flesh, and to have the loving and comfortable doctrines of his Gospell applyed unto her conscience, that shee might not be alwayes under the Schoolemaster of the Law, (which *worketh wrath,* Rom. iv. 15); but might bee prevented with the grace of Christ, be reconciled unto God, united unto Christ, and have the feeling of his love towards her. For *kissing* is a token of love." The following is from the Speaker's Bible, *in loc.* "*Let Him kiss me.* Christian expositors, from Origen downwards, have regarded this as a prayer of the Church under the old Covenant for closer communion with the Godhead through the Incarnation; 'How long shall He send me kisses by Moses and the prophets? I desire the touch of His own lips,' (Origen)."

inquit evangelium omnium (*sic*) creature? et qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit. Ecce fratres ab oriente. ab occidente. ab austro. ab aquilone. ad sanctam ecclesiam (*sic*) conveniunt fideles. et cunctarum civibus nationum celestis civitas adimpletur. Invictorum rosis purpuratur martirum. beatorum liliis nitet confessorum. et sanctarum decoratur virenti integritate virginum. Hac in civitate felicissima. conjugati terdenis. et
f. 239 b, col. 2. continentes coronantur. lx. sertis et qui virginitatem conservant. centesimi fructus accipiunt retributionem. Innumerabilis exercitus simplicium et idiotarum[z] fidelium. sed qui a fide non resiliunt. et criminalia peccata non committunt. igni tribulationis purgantur? et celestibus connume-

[z] *idiotarum*—"private believers." The Greek word ἰδιώτης (of which *idiotes* is the Latinized form) means (1) a private person not engaged in public affairs; (2) a commoner or plebeian; (3) one who has no professional knowledge, a layman; (4) one who is uncultivated and ignorant. It occurs five times in the New Testament, and is there translated in our A.V., (1) "ignorant," (Acts iv. 13); (2) "unlearned," (1 Cor. xiv. 16, 23, 24); (3) "rude," (2 Cor. xi. 6). In classical Latin the word *idiotes* is used by Cicero in the sense of uneducated, ignorant; and in the mediæval Latin the same ideas of rusticity, rudeness, and want of cultivation attach to it.

[a] Augustine makes out that the seed which brings forth an hundredfold, is that of the *martyrs;* that which brings forth sixty-fold, the *virgins* (on account of their internal tranquillity, because soldiers receive their discharge from active warfare at sixty years old); that which bore thirty-fold, the *married,* because thirty is the age of those engaged in warfare, and the married have a sharper conflict with cares and lusts than others, [Quæst. Evang., lib. i. quæst. ix]. But in his treatise *De sancta virginitate* [cap. 46, tom. vi. col. 364, Parisiis, 1685], he says as follows: "But what this difference in fruitfulness may signify, I leave to those to consider who understand these things better than I do,—whether the life which brings forth a hundred-fold be that of virgins, that which brings forth sixty-fold the life of widows, that which brings forth thirty-fold the conjugal life; or whether rather the hundred-fold fruitfulness should be ascribed to martyrdom, the sixty-fold to continence, the thirty-fold to wedlock; or whether virginity with the addition of martyrdom makes the full

Preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. St. Mark xvi. 15, 16.

Behold, brethren, from the east, from the west, from the south, and from the north, the faithful flock together to the holy Church, and the heavenly city is filled with citizens of all nations, is crimsoned with the roses of martyrs whom no torments could subdue, glisters with the lilies of blessed confessors, and is decked with the ever-green purity of holy virgins. In this most blissful city the married are crowned with thirty, the continent with sixty garlands, and they who maintain virginity receive in retribution fruit an hundred-fold[a]. Innumerable is the host of simple and private believers; but they who draw not back from the Faith, and commit no deadly sins, are purified by the fire of tribulation[b], and after that are numbered with the citizens

See St. Matt. xiii. 8, 23.

complement of a hundred-fold, but without martyrdom falls to sixty-fold; whereas the wedded, who, if they are nothing more, bring forth only thirty-fold, may arrive at sixty-fold if they become martyrs; or whether (which seems to me the most probable hypothesis), since the gifts of divine grace are many, and one gift is better and greater than another, and since we are told by the Apostle to 'covet earnestly the best gifts;' we should understand simply that there are many gifts, rather than try to make out three specific differences between them." May we be allowed to observe that the conclusion arrived at by Augustine seems to be quite that of common sense? In his *De Civitate Dei*, another interpretation of the thirty-fold, sixty-fold and hundred-fold is glanced at, but not approvingly. Some, he says, understand it to mean that the holiest of the saints, shall by their intercessions liberate from the eternal fire a hundred sinners, but those who have attained lower grades of sanctity, only sixty or thirty according to their respective merits. [*De Civ. Dei*, lib. xxi. cap. xxvii. sec. 6.]

It will be observed, that Herbert speaks of *the future retribution* of the Saints, as corresponding to the fruit in the parable. But what our Lord means by the fruit, is doubtless the holy tempers and good works which true believers exhibit *in the present state of existence.*

[b] "They who draw not back are purified by the fire of tribulation." This passage is interesting, as giving the view of the doctrine of purgatory taken by a theologian of the twelfth century, while it was still floating about in the minds of the doctors of the Church, and had not yet been authoritatively defined or received. It is thought that some notice of the origin and growth of this doctrine may find place here, and not be unacceptable to the reader.

The fundamental passage of Holy Scripture, upon which the theolo-

rantur civibus. Cujusdam martiris natalem referre diem magna est exultatio. Quanto magis

gical figment of purgatory is based by those who maintain it, is 1 Cor. iii. 11—16; "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire." That this passage gives no support whatever to the doctrine in question is clear from the fact, (1) that the fire spoken of by the Apostle, is the fire of the last day, not that of an intermediate state; (2) that the fire of which St. Paul speaks, is probationary, ("The fire shall *try* every man's work of what kind it is,") not purifying, as the fire of purgatory is said to be; and (3) that the contextual interpretation of the passage has reference to the ministers of the Church only, and not to all Christians. St. Paul is speaking of those who plant and water in God's vineyard, or who labour under God in building up the spiritual temple. Other ministers at Corinth boasted of the number of their converts. St. Paul reminds them that it was he himself who had first preached Christ among them, and that thus they had only built upon the foundation which he had laid, and that, as regards their converts, they should look rather to the quality than the quantity of them; for many were only wood, hay, stubble, nominal professors of Christianity, the hollowness of whose profession would be shewn by the searching judgment of the last day. In this connexion, the meaning of ver. 15 is:—If any minister's converts shall be shewn by that judgment to have been merely nominal, he shall suffer loss,—both in his own estimation and that of others,—inasmuch as he will be shewn not to have won those whom he was supposed to have won. But on the other hand, the unsuccessfulness of his ministry will not affect his own personal salvation, if he himself can pass through the ordeal of that fiery judgment, which will be brought to bear upon ministers as well as people.

The Fathers of the first age, which reached down to the middle of the third century, seem to have believed in a general conflagration, which was to accompany the general judgment as well as to destroy the world, and ascribe to it a certain purifying power; but this baptism of fire was not in any way connected with the intermediate state.—In the period reaching from the middle of the third to the middle of the eighth century, the doctrine was more developed. Augustine [A.D. 354—430], seems to have connected the purifying fire with the intermediate state, and broaches the view that possibly such of the faithful as cling too much to earthly goods, would have to be saved by the action of purgatorial fire: "such a thing," he says, "is not incredible, and a question may be raised as to whether it may [possibly] be so." Pope Gregory the Great

of heaven. To keep the birthday of a single martyr is a great joy. How much more edifying must it be,

[A.D. 590—604], may rightly be called the inventor of the doctrine. He was the first writer who clearly propounded the idea of the deliverance from purgatory by intercessory prayer and masses for the dead, and adduced instances in support of his view, to which he himself attached credit.—In the third period, reaching from the middle of the eighth century to the Reformation, the doctrine reached its maturity, and the outline of it hitherto sketched, was filled in with several new particulars. Many believed in the real existence of purgatory as a material fire, among whom was Thomas Aquinas [1226—1274], who says expressly that "the fire of Hades (that is, of purgatory) is not metaphorically so called, nor is it an imaginary fire, but a real corporeal one." The Canon of the Council of Trent on the subject [1545—1563, Sess. 6. Can. xxx.], which gives the doctrine in the form in which the Church of Rome has stereotyped it, is as follows: "If any one say that after the grace of justification received, the fault is so pardoned to every penitent sinner, and the liability to eternal punishment so blotted out, that there remains no liability to temporal punishment to be undergone, either in this world or in the world to come, in purgatory, before access can be given to the kingdom of heaven, let him be accursed." The decree concerning purgatory, made in the twenty-fifth Session of the Council, states that "there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained there are profited by the intercessions of the faithful, and most especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar;" and in Session 22, Cap. ii., it is stated, "That the sacrifice of the mass is offered not only for the sins of the faithful who are alive, but also, according to the tradition derived from the Apostles, for the dead in Christ who are not yet fully purged of sin." In the Catechism of the Council (Part i. cap. vi. quæst. III.) it is stated, that "there are three receptacles of souls after death; first, a most loathsome and dark prison-house, where the souls of the condemned in the company of unclean spirits are tormented with perpetual and unquenchable fire; secondly, the fire of purgatory, in which the souls of devout men, having been tortured for a definite time, get their sins thus expiated, in order that a way may lie open for them into that eternal country, wherein nothing that is defiled entereth; and thirdly, that receptacle into which the souls of holy men were admitted before the advent of Christ our Lord, and there, without any sense of pain, sustained by the blessed hope of redemption, enjoyed a quiet habitation." It will be observed, that none of these definitive and authoritative utterances of the Church of Rome, go the length of saying with Aquinas that the purgatorial fire is *material*. Of course, the saying so would involve a great difficulty; for, since the souls in purgatory are disembodied, how can material fire be supposed to act upon them? We believe, however, that apart from any definitions of the Church on the subject, the usual view of devout Romanists is, that the fire is more or less material, or at all events must be thought of and spoken of as such. Here, for example, is Father Newman's ex-

fratres karissimi de patriarchis. et prophetis. de apostolis et discipulis. et de martiribus et confessoribus. virginibus et omnibus electis. agere solennitatem utillimum est. et reddere in communi obsequio. quod in singulorum festivitatibus est neglectum. Veniamus igitur fratres ad civitatem istam. sanctorum contemplemur sedes. et mansionum delectemur diversitate. Adoremus sanctum sanctorum. nostrum videlicet salvatorem. qui talem elegit familiam. electamque eterna beatificavit felicitate. Non sint alieni beati spiritus a laudibus nostris qui sanctorum interfuerunt laboribus. et adjuverunt agones. angeli. archangeli. virtutes. potestates. principatus. dominationes. troni. cherubin. atque seraphin. Ipsa est cœlestis milicia. que impugnantes expugnat hostes. et continuis præsidiis. sanctorum protegit civitatem. Pugnat quippe sathane civitas contra civitatem nostram. a primo electo usque ad ultimum electum. set angelorum adest exercitus. adest ipse salvator. adest trinitas deus. qui non paciuntur (*sic*) nos temptari supra id quod possumus ferre. sed faciunt cum temptatione etiam proventum. ut possimus sustinere. Certe fratres. nullam pacem habuerunt sancti in præsenti vita que tota est plena

quisite description of a soul's being consigned to purgatory by its guardian angel, which represents the process as the plunging of the soul into a fiery lake.

"ANGEL.

"SOFTLY and gently, dearly-ransom'd soul,
In my most loving arms I now enfold thee,
And, o'er the penal waters, as they roll,
I poise thee, and I lower thee, and hold thee.

"And carefully I dip thee in the lake,
And thou, without a sob or a resistance,

dearly-beloved brethren, to solemnize the festival of Patriarchs and Prophets, of Apostles and Disciples, of Martyrs and Confessors, of Virgins, and of all the elect, and to requite them by a common act of reverence for what was neglected in the festivals of each one of them. Come we then, brethren, to that city; let us contemplate the abodes of the saints, and feel a [holy] delight in the diversity of their mansions. Let us worship the Saint of saints, that is to say, our Saviour, Who chose such a family, and, after choosing it, beatified it with eternal felicity. Nor let those blessed spirits stand aloof from our hymns of praise, who bore their part [by sympathy and succour] in the toils of the saints, and assisted them in their conflicts,—Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Dominions, Thrones, Cherubim and Seraphim. It is the very heavenly host itself which subdues those who fight against us, and with constantly-renewed garrisons defends the city of the saints. For Satan's city is at war with our city, from the first of the elect down to the latest of them; but the host of the angels is with us, the Saviour Himself is with us, the Three Persons of the Godhead are with us, *Who* suffer us *not to be tempted above that we are able to bear, but make also with temptation issue, that* we *may be able to bear it.* Certainly, brethren, the saints had no peace in this present life, which is all full of

> Dost through the flood thy rapid passage take,
> Sinking deep, deeper, into the dim distance.
>
> "Angels, to whom the willing task is given,
> Shall tend, and nurse, and lull thee, as thou liest;
> And masses on the earth, and prayers in heaven,
> Shall aid thee at the throne of the Most Highest.
>
> "Farewell, but not for ever! brother dear,
> Be brave and patient on thy bed of sorrow;
> Swiftly shall pass thy night of trial here,
> And I will come and wake thee on the morrow."

It is right to say, that most of the particulars in the above note are borrowed from Mr. Carl W. Buch's Translation of Hagenbach's "History of Doctrines," [T. and T. Clarke, Edinburgh, 1847].

temptationibus. sed antiquis. et continuis dimicaverunt conflictibus. et de satellitibus sathane gloriosas retulerunt victorias. et inmortales adepti
f. 240. sunt triumphos. Ab orbe condito usque ad verbi incarnationem pugnaverunt fideles contra idolatriam. et nullis immundorum spirituum sacrificiis inquinati sunt. A verbo incarnato usque ad pacem ecclesiæ. contra principes et tirannos hujus mundi sancti pugnavere martires. et nullorum tormentorum succubuere injuriis. Facta pace ecclesiæ. et reipublicæ inperatoribus conversis ad fidem. hereticorum zizania excreverunt. et veluti rane e tetris et liminosis (*sic*) paludibus emerserunt. Pugnavit catholica fides. et hereticorum blasfemias contrivit. devicit. annichilavit. adeo ut aut nullus sit hereticus. aut nullus audeat apparere hereticus. Verum fratres. necdum satanas requiescit. adhuc lascessit (*sic*) sanctos. inpugnat suggestionibus. temptationibus. passioni-

* "The faithful fought against idolatry, and were never polluted with sacrifices to unclean spirits." The representation of heathen sacrifices as offered to devils is quite Scriptural. See Lev. xvii. 7, "They shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone a whoring." Deut. xxxii. 17, "They sacrificed unto devils, not to God." 2 Chron. xi. 15, "He ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he" Jeroboam "had made." Psalm cvi. 37, "Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils." 1 Cor. x. 20, "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils." Rev. ix. 20, "The rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk." In itself, the idol was nothing, as St. Paul says (1 Cor. viii. 4); but at the back of all idol-worship are the rulers of the darkness of this world upholding and maintaining it, and instigating men to offer worship to them which are no gods. The Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, in an able and learned Article [DEMONOLOGY] in Smith and Wace's "Dictionary of

temptations, but have ever from of old fought in continual conflicts, and won glorious victories over the body-guard of Satan, and gained immortal triumphs. From the foundation of the world even to the Incarnation of the Word, the faithful fought against idolatry, and were never polluted with sacrifices to unclean[c] spirits. From the Incarnation of the Word unto the time when the Church had rest, the holy martyrs fought against the princes and tyrants of this world, and were never overcome by the torments of injurious persecutors. When at length the Church had rest, and the emperors of the republic were converted to the Faith, then grew up those tares, the heretics, and emerged like frogs from the foul and miry[d] marshes. The Catholic Faith fought, and so crushed, subdued, and brought to nought the blasphemies of the heretics, that either there was no heretic, or none dared to appear. But, brethren, not as yet is Satan quiet; still he harasses the saints, fights against them with [evil] motions, temptations, passions; fights against them with the

Christian Biography, &c.," shows that "Demonology was a popular study both in Greece and Rome, as well as Judæa, when the Gospel began to be preached. It had become popular in Greece and Rome, as it invested the worship of idols with a reality that was at once novel and mysterious, and spiritualised forms and ceremonies that were becoming intolerable to enlightened minds. The idol was no longer a senseless and helpless image of metal, wood, or stone: it was the habitual abode of a spirit, inferior indeed to God, but superior to man, and a regularly accredited medium of communication between God and man." By those who desire to explore this interesting and not unedifying subject, the Article from which this citation is made should be carefully studied.

[d] "And emerged like frogs from the foul and miry marshes." Herbert is by no means singular in comparing heretics to the Apocalyptic frogs. In a circular letter written to the Bishops of Picenum, a province of central Italy, where Pelagianism was exercising some influence, Pope Gelasius wrote thus [A.D. 493]: "A miserable old man was presented to us, Seneca by name, who not only is a stranger to all learning, but almost devoid of common sense itself, who has shamelessly plunged himself in the mud of the Pelagian abyss, like one of the frogs to which heretics are compared in the Apocalypse, and wallows disgustingly in that filth, finding no way whereby he can emerge from it." [Baronius, Annal. Eccl. (Lucæ, M DCC XLI.), tom. viii. p. 560, Gel. Pap. 2.]

bus. reproborum inpugnat exemplis. tanto gravius quanto occulcius. quanto non exterius sed interius. suorum phantasmatum præstigiis fidelium inquietat voluntates et cogitationes. Unde apostolus. Non est. inquit nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem. sed adversus principes et potestates. adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum contra spiritualem nequitiam in celestibus. Quod bene spiritus sanctus prævidens. in exordio rerum spiritui immundo comminatus est. Inimicitias inquit ponam inter te et mulierem. et inter semen tuum et semen illius. Ipsa conteret caput tuum. et tu insidiaberis calcaneo illius. Hoc fratres in tota massa. et in singulis contigit fidelibus. Pugnabit in fine mundi contra fideles per antichristum. tanto atrocius quanto permissius. et expositus erit sue nequitie omnibus explendis artibus. Eo tempore seviet persecutio. qualis non fuit ab exordio re-

[e] "Satan will make war with the faithful by Anti-Christ." The word Anti-Christ occurs five times only in Holy Scripture; and from those four mentions of the name, we gather the following particulars respecting the person indicated. (1.) That Anti-Christ is manifested during "the last time" (or hour of the world's existence), the whole of the present dispensation however being counted as the last hour. (2). That the future coming of Anti-Christ was a thing known and looked for among the primitive Christians, so that the Apostles in writing to them needed only to refer to it, and felt sure that their meaning would be understood. (3.) That there are many preliminary anti-christs, who stand up in the spirit and power of the great ultimate Anti-Christ. (4.) That he who denies that Jesus is the Christ, or who denies the Father and the Son, or who confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is Anti-Christ; not necessarily however the great Anti-Christ, but one who is inspired by his spirit. See 1 John ii. 18 (*bis*), 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7.

[f] "At that time there will rage a persecution, such as was not from the beginning of all things." Justin Martyr, writing in the second century, and who, as being so early a writer, would naturally set the tone of patristic theology on the subject of Anti-Christ, speaks of his fury

examples of the reprobate all the more grievously because secretly, because not outwardly but inwardly he disquiets the wills and thoughts of the faithful with his [seducing] wiles and the imaginations [which he conjures up]. Whence the Apostle saith; *Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against* spiritual wickedness *in the high places.* Eph. vi. 12. The Holy Ghost, well foreseeing this, thus threatened the unclean spirit in the beginning of all things; *I will put enmities,* saith He, *between thee and the woman, and* between *thy seed and her seed: she shall crush thy head,* and thou shalt *lie in wait for her heel.* Gen. iii. 15. Which thing, brethren, hath come to pass in the whole body of the faithful, and in each particular saint. In the end of the world Satan will make war with the faithful by Anti-Christ[e], all the more bitterly because he will act by permission, and will have opportunity of practising to the uttermost all the arts of his malice. At that time there will rage a persecution, such as was[f]

against the Christians in the latter days: "It is proved by means of all the Scriptures, that two comings of Christ are announced; the one in which He is preached as about to suffer, and a man of no reputation, and dishonoured, and crucified; the other, in which He will come from heaven with glory, when also the man of the apostasy"—(hence it is clear that Justin Martyr, unlike Bishop Wordsworth, held Anti-Christ to be the man of sin, 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4)—"who speaketh strange things against the Most High, shall dare lawless designs against us the Christians, who having learnt the true worship of God from the Law, and from the word which went forth from Jerusalem, have fled to the God of Jacob, and the God of Israel." (Dial. cum Tryph., c. 110.)

Speaking of the martyrs under Anti-Christ, Cyril of Jerusalem, (A.D. 351—386), says, "Who is the blessed man, who at this time shall devoutly bear testimony for Christ? for I say that the martyrs of that time are to be counted above all other martyrs. For they who were martyred before that time, wrestle with men only; whereas they who will be martyrs under Anti-Christ, will wage war with Satan himself in his own person; and the kings who before conducted the persecution, only slew men, but did not pretend to raise the dead, nor did they exhibit the appearance of signs and wonders." [Fifteenth Catechetical Lecture. 'On the Second Advent of Christ,' chap. 17.] And again: "In the first instance, he will feign himself to be eloquent and prudent, and will put on a show

f. 240, col. 2. rum. donec annis tribus et dimidio completis. draco et bestia detrudantur in interitum. et in ignem eternum unde non egredientur ulterius. Tunc pax erit. et nullus ulterius adversus sanctos inimici commovebitur conflictus; Ecce fratres qui in celesti civitate mente consistitis. et omnium festivitatem sanctorum celebratis. concurrite ad corda. et ad vestra concurrite interiora. Occulta vestra ipsa sunt peccata vestra. que vos cognoscitis. et divine providentie et presentie judicium minime latent. Agnoscite turpiturdines (*sic*) vestras. et deus ignoscet. Agite penitentiam. facite confessiones. conceptum malicie virus effundite de cordibus vestris et projectum non revertemini ad vomitum. quoniam Deus præsens est. et vestrarum nequitiarum abominatur immundicias. Fugite itaque gulam. ebrietatem. fornicationem. luxuriam. et nullus vestrum polluatur adulterio con-

of temperance and humanity; and when he has deceived the Jews by signs and wonders, resulting from the false illusions of magic, into receiving him as the expected Messiah, he will be afterwards branded with every stigma of cruelty and crime, so that he will surpass all the unrighteous and the ungodly who had been before him, being animated by a spirit murderous, and most severe, and relentless, and subtle, against all men, but particularly against us the Christians." [Ibid., cap. 12.]

Although, in one of the above extracts, Cyril speaks of Anti-Christ as if he were Satan himself, the Benedictine editor points out that we are not under the necessity of supposing that Anti-Christ will be an incarnation of Satan, in the same sense as Christ is of God. It would satisfy, he thinks, the statements of Cyril on the subject, as well as stronger ones of Hippolytus, Theodoret, and Jerome, to suppose that Anti-Christ will be a man who makes himself entirely over to the devil, and acts by his sole instigation, just like a person possessed.

g "Until, when the three years and half are fulfilled, the Dragon and the Beast are thrust down into perdition." Cyril, too, thinks that the three and a-half years are to be taken literally. He says, [Catech. Lec. xv. chap. 16]; "*There shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be.* But thanks

not from the beginning of all things, until, when the three years and a-half are fulfilled[g], the Dragon and the Beast are thrust down into perdition and into the everlasting fire, from which they shall come forth no more. Then shall there be peace, and no more shall conflict be stirred up by the enemy against the saints. Behold, brethren, ye who in [the contemplation of] your minds stand[h] in the heavenly city, and celebrate the Festival of All Saints, betake yourselves to your hearts, and to your inner man. Your hidden things are your sins themselves, to which ye are privy, and which in no wise escape the judgment of God's presence and providence. Acknowledge your vileness in thought and deed, and God will pardon you. Do penance; make confessions; empty your hearts of the venom of wickedness which ye have conceived, and ye shall not return again like the dog to the vomit which he hath cast out, since God is present with you, and abhors the filthiness of your wickednesses. Flee ye therefore from gluttony, drunkenness, fornication, and wantonness; and let none of you pollute himself by adultery with his neighbour's

See Rev. xix. 20, and xx. 10.

See 2 Pet. ii. 22.

be to God, who hath circumscribed within few days the greatness of this tribulation; for He saith, *but for the elects' sake those days shall be shortened.* Anti-Christ will reign only three and a-half years,—an assertion which we draw, not from the Apocryphal writings, but from the book of Daniel; for he saith, *they shall be delivered into his hand until a time, and times, and half a time. A time* is one year, in the course of which the coming of Anti-Christ shall perceptibly increase; *times* are two remaining years of impiety, which, reckoned together, make up three years. And *half a time* is six months." It is probable that under the name of Apocryphal books Cyril included the Book of the Revelation, for he does not include it among the Books of the New Testament. But it is quite clear, even if it were only from his mention of the Dragon and the Beast, that *Herbert* is drawing from the Revelation, though *Cyril* may repudiate it as a source of doctrine.

[h] "Who in the contemplation of your minds stand in the heavenly city." Compare Phil. iii. 20: "For our conversation is in heaven," (ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα, our spiritual constitution); and the Church's Collect for the Ascension Day, "Grant that, like as we do believe thy only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ to have ascended into the heavens; so we may also in heart and mind thither ascend, and with him continually dwell."

jugis aliene; Non impleatis domos vestras exuviis merentium. neque vestra scrinia[1] latrociniis et rapacitate. Dampnatis sathanan. et societatem impiorum. condempnate opera sathanæ. et exempla iniquorum. Omnium sanctorum celebratis (*sic*) solennitatem. nitimini emundari ab omnibus inquinamentis vestris. Ambulate dum lucem habetis ne tenebre vos comprehendant. Amat deus festivitates vestras. sed si vestris desieritis ab erroribus. Prolongatur dies communis judicii. sed vester finis prope est. et judicium vestrum ante portas vestras consistit. Cogitate patres. avos. atavos et proavos vestros. abierunt præsentem non ultra reversuri ad vitam. Secuturi mortuos. quid tractatis de vita? Mors pulsat turres[k]. et vos impletis eas diviciis? Unde dominus cuidam opulento et avaro convenienter dicit. Stulte. hac nocte auferetur. anima. tua a te. quæ autem præparasti cujus erunt? Severa
f. 240 b. increpatio. sed utinam ipsa vestrorum cordium penetraret medullas. Certe vobis vilesceret mun-

[1] *Scrinia.* The word *scrinium*, in the classical writers, signifies "a box" in which paper, letters, books, are kept, an escritoire (compare Hor., Ep. 2, 1, 112). Here the word seems to mean a locker of a large description, in which stolen raiment or money might be secreted. The word is also used in mediæval Latin for (1.) a portable shrine for relics; (2.) the record-room of a convent, in which the deeds and archives were kept.

[k] *Mors pulsat turres.* Is Herbert thinking of Horace, (Od. i. 4, 13, 14). *Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas, regumque turres?* This passage and its context seem to throw some light upon the character of the auditors whom Herbert addressed in his Sermons; he could hardly say to monks, "death knocks at the doors of your castles; and do ye fill them with riches?" or, again, "Fill not your houses with the spoils of them that mourn, nor your coffers with robbery and extortion." Was he preaching to some of the rapacious and lawless nobles of his day, to whom rapine done upon the poor and defenceless was a familiar thing? The argument would have had point enough as regards them; but how, il-

wife. Fill not your houses with the spoils of them that mourn, nor your coffers with robbery and extortion. Ye say anathema to Satan, and to the crew of the ungodly; condemn also the works of Satan and the examples of the unrighteous. Ye celebrate the Festival of All Saints; give diligence to be purged from all your defilements. *Walk whilst you have the light,* lest *darkness overtake you.* God loveth your holy solemnities, but only if ye cease from the errors of your way. The time of the general judgment [indeed] is prolonged, but your end is at hand, and your judgment standeth before your doors. Think of your fathers, grandfathers, greatgrandfathers, and ancestors. They have passed away, never again to return to this present life. Seeing ye are about to follow the dead, why deal ye so much with the things of this life? Death knocks at the door of your castles, and do ye fill them with riches? Whence the Lord saith most fitly to a certain rich and covetous man; *Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be* taken away from *thee; and whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?* A stern rebuke! would God that it might pierce your heart of hearts! Surely

St. John xii. 25.

See James v. 9.

See Zech. i. 5.

St. Luke xii. 20.

literate as they were, could they have understood Latin? were the Sermons translated into English for delivery, but only the original Latin preserved?

From the following passage of the Rev. J. M. Neale's "Mediæval Preachers," (a great authority,) we infer that it would be his opinion that Herbert preached the Sermon extempore from notes, and that it was afterwards reduced to a literary form, at a time when the only language which Literature recognised was the Latin;—

"The third point which should be considered in the perusal of any mediæval sermon is this; whether it was originally delivered in Latin, or in the vernacular language of the country. One thing seems next to certain; that the great preachers of those times, whenever they did use the vernacular language, spoke in it extempore; for who could take the trouble of committing his thoughts to a dialect so barbarous, that perhaps it could not be written with precision; and so fluctuating, that it was certain to be unintelligible within half-a-century? The Sermons *ad populum*, of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, then, must either have been translated into Latin by some of the disciples of the author, from their remembrance of what he had actually spoken, or by the writer himself, from his recollection of the general scope and aim of his discourse."

dus. et vestra flagitia condempnaretis. et cessantes ab opprimendis innocentibus. Christianæ misericordiæ viscera pauperibus exhibereatis (*sic*). Nostis fratres pauperes ecclesiæ? Ipsi sunt sancti quorum hodie celebratis solennitatem. Eos ut ait dominus facite amicos vestros. ut cum defeceritis recipient vos in eterna tabernacula. Macerantur fame. horrent frigoribus sancti pauperes. sed in celo futuri reges. de vestris. et omnium flagitiosorum criminibus coram deo judicabunt. Absurda videntur vobis ista. set veritas evangelii incontaminabilis manet. Beati inquit pauperes spiritu. quoniam ipsorum est regnum cælorum. Beati mites. beati qui lugent. qui esuriunt et siciunt justiciam. beati misericordes. beati mundo corde. beati pacifici. beati qui persecutionem paciuntur (*sic*) propter justiciam. beati eritis cum maledixerint vobis homines. et persecuti vos fuerint. et cetera que secuntur (*sic*). Ecce fratres diversas gratias et retributiones audistis beatitudinis. set una est beatitudo. que omnibus sanctis communiter præparata est. Unam summus imperator beatitudinem largitur omnibus sanctis. sed ea ipsi singuli pro suorum qualitate fruuntur meritorum. Unde dominus. In domo inquit patris mei mansiones multæ sunt. Quas præparat

[1] The Beatitudes formed the Gospel for All Saints' Day in the Missal of Sarum, as they still do in the Reformed Book of Common Prayer.

[m] "He prepareth" (the mansions), "while He is instructing and keeping his foreknown and predestined faithful ones in the observance of His commandments."

We are glad to conclude these notes with a fine passage from St. Augustine, explanatory of the same passage which Herbert here refers to.

the world would then begin to be held cheap by you, and ye would condemn your sins, and ceasing from the oppression of the innocent, ye would shew the bowels of Christian compassion to the poor. Know ye, brethren, that the Church's poor are themselves among the saints, whose festival ye are to-day celebrating? Make them your friends, as the Lord saith, *that when you shall fail,* they may receive you *into everlasting dwellings.* The holy poor are lean with hunger, and shiver with cold, but hereafter in heaven they shall be kings, and in the presence of God shall sit in judgment upon your crimes, and those of all the wicked. Such words appear to you unreasonable, but the truth of the Gospel abideth in all its purity. St. Luke xvi. 9.

Blessed, saith he, *are the poor*[1] *in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; Blessed are the meek; Blessed are they that mourn; they that hunger and thirst after righteousness; Blessed are the merciful; Blessed are the clean of heart; Blessed are the peacemakers; Blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice' sake; Blessed are ye when they shall revile you and persecute you,* and the rest [of the beatitudes] which follow. St. Matt. v. 3—11.

Behold, brethren, ye have heard the divers graces of the blessed, and the [meet] recompence of each. Yet there is but one blessedness, which is prepared for all the saints in common, yea, but one blessedness which the most high Lord bestoweth upon all His saints, though each of them enjoyeth it according to the special character of his own virtues. Whence the Lord saith, *In my Father's house there are many mansions,* which He prepareth[m], while He is instructing and St. John xiv. 2.

It will be found in the second part of the third vol. of the Benedictine edition of Augustine's Works, put forth at Paris, 1689 A.D., col. 680. In Johan. Evang., cap. 14, tract. 68: "But what is the meaning of His going away in order to prepare a place for us; since, in truth, it is we whom He would prepare for the place, which He will not do if He should leave us? I understand Thee, Lord, as far as I can; doubtless

cum præscitos et prædestinatos suos fideles. in suorum mandatorum efficientia informat et conservat. Hodie fratres omnium sanctorum victorias et triumphos cælebratis (*sic*). Laborate et vos ut efficiamini sancti et participes tante societatis. celestis concives civitatis facti estis? contendite consistere in societate sanctorum. Societas ista civitas est eterna quæ non eget sole neque luna alimentisve carnalibus. quoniam cognicio patris et filii et spiritus sancti pascit eam. et lucerna ejus est agnus. Hic cœlum novum. et terra nova. hic corporum incorruptibilitas et immortalitas. Hic animarum impassibilitas. Hic beatitudo. Hic æternitas. Hic excellentissima bona. que oculus non vidit. nec auris audivit. nec

f. 240 b, col. 2.

this is what thou signifiest; that the just man must live by faith, that those mansions may be prepared for him. For he who is absent from the Lord must needs live by faith, because it is by faith that he is prepared to gaze upon the vision of the Lord. For *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God*, and *Purifying their hearts by faith;* the first of which passages is found in the Gospels, the second in the Acts of the Apostles. But the faith, whereby the hearts of those who are to see God are purified during their absence from the Lord, believes what it doth not see; for if thou seest a thing, that is not faith. To him who believes, there accrueth merit; to him who sees, is rendered a reward. Let the Lord then go and prepare the place; let Him go that He may not be seen, let Him be hid in order that He may be believed in. For then is the place prepared when we live by faith. Let Him who is believed in be desired, in order that being desired He may be possessed; the desire of love is the preparation of the mansion. Therefore, Lord, prepare that which Thou dost prepare; for Thou preparest us for Thyself, and Thyself for us, since Thou preparest a place both for Thyself in us, and for us in Thyself. For Thou hast said, *Abide in me, and I in you.* So far as each of us shall partake of Thee, one in a less, and another in a greater degree, this will be the diversity of rewards, according to the diversity of deserts; this will be the multitude of mansions, corresponding to the disparity of the dwellers therein; all those dwellers, however, having eternal life, and being blessed without end. What means it that Thou goest?

keeping His foreknown and predestined faithful ones in the observance of His commandments.

To-day, brethren, ye celebrate the victories and triumphs of all the saints. Labour ye also to become saints, and to be made partakers of so great a brotherhood. Ye have been made fellow-citizens of the heavenly city; strive ye to stand fast in the communion of saints. That communion is the eternal city, which hath *no need of the sun, nor of the moon,* nor yet of carnal nourishment; for the knowledge of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost feedeth it, and *the Lamb is the lamp thereof.* Here is the new heaven and the new earth; here the incorruption and immortality of the body; here the soul is free from suffering; here is blessedness, here eternity; here most excellent blessings, *which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither* Rev. xxi. 23. Rev. xxi. 1. 1 Cor. ii. 9.

what means it that Thou comest? if I understand Thee aright, Thou dost not retreat either from the place whereto Thou goest, or from that from which Thou comest; Thou goest by hiding Thyself; Thou comest by appearing; but unless Thou abidest with us by governing us, that we may make progress in holy living, how shall a place be prepared for us, where we may abide with Thee by enjoying Thee?"

Augustine, then, says that it is by governing His people that the Lord prepares a place for them; and Herbert, echoing Him, and expanding the sentiment, says that the preparation is carried on, while Christ is instructing and keeping His people in the observance of His commandments.

We may observe that the difficulty of the passage is in some measure removed, if we adopt the translation of the Vulgate, according to which, our Lord does not absolutely say that He is going to prepare a place for His disciples, but that, if there were not many mansions ready for them in His Father's house, He would have said to them in that case (what, as it was, He needed not to say) that He was going to make ready a place for them. *In my Father's house there are many mansions. If not, I would have told you that I go to prepare a place for you.* Doubtless the Greek might bear this meaning; but we are loth to abandon the idea that part of His work above is the preparation for us of a place not yet made ready, which, indeed, (as both Augustine and Herbert teach) is only the making us ready for the place; and what is to become of the magnificent Proper Preface for Ascension Day, if we accept this interpretation very rigidly?

in cor hominis ascenderunt. quæ deus præparavit. et concedit omnibus sanctis amatoribus suis. Prestante domino ihesu christo qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. AMEN.

have entered into the heart of man, which God hath prepared, and vouchsafes to all His saints *that love him.* And the Lord Jesus Christ it is Who furnishes these blessings, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, God for ever and ever. Amen.

APPENDIX.

THE anecdote, related at the end of Herbert's first Sermon (pp. 31 — 33), of the Hebrew child cast into a furnace by his father, and protected from the fire by the Virgin, can be traced up to the Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius. Evagrius, called Scholasticus (= advocate or pleader), was born at Epiphaneia on the Orontes, about A.D. 536, and died towards the close of that century. His Church History covers a period of 162 years, from the third General Council (that of Ephesus, A.D. 431), down to the twelfth year of the Emperor Maurice, A.D. 593. Of the many editions of this work, one of the most convenient and accessible is that published by the Clarendon Press at Oxford, in 1844. We present our readers with the translation of the chapter containing the account of the alleged miracle, which is given in Mr. Bohn's "Ecclesiastical Library," "History of the Church by Theodoret and Evagrius" (London, 1854, pp. 417, 418).

The reference in the notes is to *Valesius* (Henry of Valois), who published a standard edition of Evagrius, with a Latin translation and notes.

Of Menas the Patriarch, and of the wonder which was wrought in his time on the Jew's child.

When Anthimus, as has been already mentioned, was removed from the see of the imperial city (Constantinople), Epiphanius succeeds to the bishopric; and after Epiphanius, Menas, in whose time also occurred a remarkable prodigy. It is an old custom in the imperial city that, when there remains over a considerable quantity of the holy fragments of the immaculate Body of Christ our God, boys of tender age should be fetched

from among those who attend the schools to eat them [a]. On one occasion of this kind, there was included among them the son of a glass-worker, a Jew by faith; who, in reply to the inquiries of his parents respecting the cause of his delay, told them what had taken place, and what he had eaten in company with the other boys. The father, in his indignation and fury, places the boy in the furnace where he used to mould the glass. The mother, unable to find her child, wandered over the city with lamentations and wailings; and on the third day, standing by the door of her husband's workshop, was calling upon the boy by name, tearing herself in her sorrow. He, recognising his mother's voice, answered her from within the furnace; and she, bursting open the doors, saw on her entrance the boy standing in the midst of the coals, and untouched by the fire. On being asked how he had continued unhurt, he said that a woman in a purple robe had frequently visited him; that she had offered him water, and with it had quenched that part of the coals which was nearest to him; and that she had supplied him with food as often as he was hungry.

Justinian, on the report of this occurrence, placed the boy and his mother in the orders of the Church [b], after they had been enlightened by the laver of regeneration. But the father, on his refusal to be numbered among the Christians, he ordered to be impaled in the suburb of Sykæ [c], as being the murderer of his child.

[a] Nicephorus (b. xvii. ch. 25) bears witness that this custom (viz. that the particles of the holy eucharist which remained after the conclusion of the service, were at Constantinople distributed amongst the boys and eaten) continued even in his age; and he writes that he himself, while he was a boy, and was frequently in the churches, partook of those particles. *Vales.*

[b] We must understand that the emperor ordered the boy to be reckoned among the readers of the Church, and commanded his mother to be ordained a deaconess. *Vales.*

[c] In this suburb of the city of Constantinople, punishments were heretofore usually inflicted on criminals. *Vales.*

The History of Evagrius, however, was not the source from which Herbert borrowed the story. There is no proof that he had any knowledge of Greek authors. Doubtless he got the anecdote from the works of Gregory, Archbishop of Tours, where it is told with certain variations from the narrative of Evagrius, and where the scene is vaguely said (as in Herbert) to be in the East.

We extract the chapter from Gregory's treatise "de Gloria Martyrum," lib. i. cap. x. col. 732 [Opera, Luteciæ-Parisiorum, 1699, fol.]; and we give an English translation in a parallel column.

De puero Judæo valde memorandum miraculum.

Quid igitur in Oriente actum fuerit[d], ad corroborandam fidem Catholicam non silebo. Judæi cujusdam vitrarii filius, cùm apud Christianos pueros ad studia litterarum exerceretur, quadam die dum Missarum festa in basilica beatæ Mariæ celebrarentur, ad participationem gloriosi corporis & sanguinis Dominici cum aliis in-

A very memorable miracle wrought upon a Jewish boy.

I must not pass over in silence what was done in the East, in order to fortify the Catholic Faith. On a certain day, when Masses were being celebrated in St. Mary's Basilica, a Jewish child, the son of a Jewish glass-blower, who was being trained in the rudiments of learning among Christian boys, drew near with other children to partake of the glorious Body and Blood of the Lord. Hav-

[d] Similem historiam habet Evagrius, lib. 4. cap. 36, and Nicephorus, lib. 17. cap. 25. Idem contigisse memoratur apud Bituricas in ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ, tempore Humati ejusdem urbis episcopi, ut narrat Monachus Sansulpicianus in Patriarchio Bituricensi cap. 19. Hinc cognomen habuit *de Furnocalido.*

There is a similar story in Evagrius, book iv. chap. 36, and in Nicephorus, book xvii. chap. 25. The same thing is said to have happened at Bourges in the church of St. Mary, in the time of Humatus, the bishop of that city, as Monachus of St. Sulpice relates in his work on the Patriarchate of Bourges, chap. xix. Hence the Blessed Virgin received the name of "the Deliverer from the burning furnace."

fantibus infans Judæus accessit. Quo sancto assumto[e], gaudens ad domum patris revertitur: illoque operante inter amplexus et oscula, quæ acceperat cum gaudio refert. At ille Christo Domino ac suis legibus inimicus ait: Si cum his infantibus communicasti, oblitus paternæ pietatis, ad ulciscendam Mosaicæ legis injuriam, parricida in te durus exsistam. Et apprehensum puerum in os fornacis ardentis projecit, adjectisque lignis quo vehementius exureretur, insistit. Sed non defuit illa misericordia, quæ tres quondam Hebræos pueros Chaldaico in camino projectos, nube rorulenta resperserat. Ipsa enim & hunc inter medios ignes & prunarum moles jacentem prorsus consumi non patitur. Cùm autem audisset mater, quod scilicet filium communem paing received this holy thing, he returned with joy to his father's house, and while the father was at his work, tells him with simple joy, amidst kisses and embraces, what things he had received. But that enemy of Christ the Lord, and of His laws, said, If, indeed, thou hast communicated with these children, I, forgetful of fatherly affection, will show myself a cruel murderer of thee my offspring, in order to avenge the slight which thou hast done to the Law of Moses. So saying, he caught hold of the boy, and cast him into the mouth of the burning furnace, and adding logs of wood that the burning might be more intense, he stayed there sternly. But that mercy, which of old sprinkled with a dewy cloud the three Hebrew children in the furnace of Babylon, was not wanting on this occasion. For the same mercy did not suffer this boy to be consumed, though he lay in the midst of the fire and among the blocks of live glowing coal. But when the mother had heard that the father had resolved to burn the child in

[e] Hic observandum est hanc vocem *sanctum* absolute pro Eucharistia assumi, ut fit in plerisque Liturgiæ nostræ, etiam hodiernæ, orationibus.

It is observable that this word "holy thing" is put absolutely for the Eucharist, as it is frequently in many prayers of the Liturgy, even at this day.

ter deliberasset exurere, cucurrit ad liberandum eum. Sed cùm vidisset incendia ab ore fornacis patulo huc & illuc flamma dominante respergi, ornatum capitis ad terram projicit, diffusaque cæsarie se miseram clamitans, civitatem vocibus implet. Quòd cùm Christiani, quid actum fuerat didicissent, concurrerunt omnes ad tam iniquum spectaculum, retractisque ignibus ab ore fornacis, inveniunt puerum quasi super plumas mollissimas decumbentem. Quo extracto, admirantur omnes illæsum, clamoribusque locus ille repletur: & sic Dominum omnis populus benedicit. Conclamabant etiam, ut auctorem hujus sceleris in ipsas projicerent flammas. Projectum autem ita totum ignis absorbuit, ut vix de ossibus ejus parvum quodammodo relinqueretur indicium. Interrogantes autem infantulum Christiani, quale ei inter ignes fuisset umbraculum, ait: Mulier

whom both of them had a common interest, she ran to his relief. But when she saw that the fire had gained the mastery, and that the flames were bursting forth on this side and that from the open mouth of the furnace, she threw the tire of her head to the earth, and with dishevelled locks cried out that she was a miserable woman, and filled the city with her wailing. But when the Christians learned what had been done, all of them ran together to this grievous spectacle, and having removed the flaming fuel from the mouth of the furnace, find the boy reclining there as it were upon a bed of downy feathers. They drew him out, and are all amazed to find him unhurt; and the whole place was filled with clamours of surprise, and all the people blessed the Lord. They shouted also that the perpetrator of this crime should himself be thrust into the flames; and when he was thus thrust, the fire devoured him so completely, that scarcely was the slightest trace of his bones left. But when the Christians asked the little boy what had been the shadow which had screened him from the fire, he said, The

quæ in basilica illa, ubi panem [f] de mensa accepi, in cathedra residens, parvulum in sinu gestat infantem, hæc me pallio suo, ne ignis voraret, operuit. Unde indubitatum est, beatam ei Mariam apparuisse. Agnita ergo infans fide Catholica, credidit in nomine Patris & Filii, & Spiritus-sancti, ac salutaribus aquis ablutus una cum genitrice sua, denuò sunt renati. Multi Judæorum exemplo hoc in urbe illa salvati sunt.

woman who in that basilica where I received bread from the table, carries a little one in her bosom as she sits in her chair, she covered me with her mantle, lest the fire should devour me. Whence it cannot be doubted that the blessed Mary appeared to the child. The child, then, confessing the Catholic Faith to be true, believed in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and he and his mother being washed with the life-giving waters of baptism, were born again, and many of the Jews in that city were brought by this occurrence to a state of salvation.

The account of this miracle given by the Bollandists [g] is taken from Evagrius, with a few verbal altera-

[f] Observandum hic primo, *panem* solummodo, id est unicam Eucharistiæ sacræ speciem, à puero Judæo fuisse receptam, qui tamen suprà *corpus & sanguis Domini* à Gregorio appellatur. Observandum 2°. antiquum morem in ecclesiis beatissimam virginem repræsentandi sedentem cum Infante Jesu, quem in ulnis gestat.

Here note, first, that the bread alone, that is, one of the species only in the Holy Eucharist, was received by the Jewish boy; which, however, a little above, is called by Gregory the Body and Blood of the Lord. Secondly, that it was the ancient custom in churches to represent the Blessed Virgin seated, and with the infant Jesus, whom she carries in her arms.

[g] The Society of Bollandists took its name from John Bolland, a Jesuit of Antwerp, who was born in 1596, and died in 1665. He it was who began "the Acts of the Saints," arranged under the days of the year on which their festivals occur,—a work destined ultimately to fill fifty-three folio volumes. He himself died before he had completed the saints of March; but he found continuators, Papebroche and others (mostly

tions. It will be found in vol. v. of the *Acta Sanctorum*, among the saints of August, p. 170, "In vitâ S. Menæ Patr. Constantinop."

Jesuit fathers), who carried down the work to the fourteenth of October. It was reserved for our own days to finish it. A society was formed in Paris in 1836, under the auspices of the Belgian Government, for the completion of this gigantic undertaking, which was effected by the Jesuits of Belgium, who were in possession of the archives of the old Bollandists.

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ERRATUM.

P. 101, footnote i, line 1, *for* "the Douay version" *read* "the Rheims version."

Printed by James Parker and Co., Crown Yard, Oxford.

00067156

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018